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See end of page 412. for beginning of Vol. II, No. 1

THE



GENERAL REPOSITORY

AND

REVIEW:

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

Vol. II.

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THE
GENERAL REPOSITORY
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Theological Department.

NEC TEMERE, NEC TIMIDE.

BIOGRAPHY OF J. S. SEMLER:

Translated from the original, in Eichhorn's Allgemeine Bibliothek der Biblischen Litteratur. Band. 5. Theil, 1. Leipzig, 1798.

Concluded from page 65.

SEMLER in all his works upon the history of the church never came down beyond the seventeenth century. The history of the sixteenth century he has treated in his manner very fully; but that of the seventeenth only partially..

In regard to the ancient history of the church to the middle ages his merits are great; greater than one would suppose possible, since he was preceded by so many men of profound learning. For the peculiar richness of his discoveries he was indebted to the study of such sources as his predecessors had not used, to the independent views with which he examined such as were common, and to the jealous and critical penetration by which he separated the certain from the fabulous. He approached the histories that were filled with marvellous things, and, purifying them from fables and legends, he has transmitted them to posterity, who will probably show more gratitude towards him, than many of his contemporaries. In the former historians of the church one cannot fail to discern, according to the spirit and genius of their times, a false taste for the marvellous, a negligence in the use of the an-

thorities that are extant, and a defect of historical criticism and manly independence. Semler entered upon the history of the first five centuries with the purpose of opposing the ruling taste, of giving a more true and faithful delineation of the peculiar state of christianity in this early period, than is to be found in the greater and smaller histories in use, and of publishing to the world, without reserve, what his proofs and documents attested; what perhaps some had already observed, but had not been disposed to acknowledge. Thus he disturbed the common prejudice concerning the superiority of the first times of christianity over the present, and shewed undeniably that our religion was even then corrupted by means of fanatical men, who taught a kind of christianity mixed with Jewish superstition, and, by their extravagance, even in the tolerant times of the Romish government, brought contempt upon the Christians, by creating a belief that they were, or would become the foes of sovereigns, and the authors of dangerous innovations and tumultuous commotions in the state. He censured the increasing ignorance and fanaticism, the vulgarity and wickedness of the teachers, the cabals and the pride of dominion of those who, from the circumstances of the times, had the most influence; their dissensions and quarrels concerning doctrines, which thrust aside true Christianity; and the love of the great mass of common Christians for fables and fictitious miracles. In particular he was very skillful and acute in the history of ancient heresies; and in his judgment concerning them, he was mild and circumspect—much more so than his predecessors, Pfaff alone excepted, whom Semler took for his pattern. He could not indeed but speak charitably concerning these heresies, since, through his repeated attention to dogmatic divinity, he had become acquainted with the diversities of opinions, and with the various modes of representing them; and had learned to distinguish Christian doctrines from mutable theories in religion. With what zeal did Semler defend Pelagius, who had been so much slandered and execrated! With what dexterity did he refute the calumnies of Augustin! With what clearness and histor-

ional fidelity did he expose the rage, which, at the instigation of the bishops, was directed against pagans and reputed heretics—against Arians, Donatists, Pelagians, &c. On the contrary he commanded the Gnostics and the followers of Marcion for their exertions in extirpating the Jewish spirit from Christianity; and for being wholly opposed to the abuses, which Tertullian and men of his stamp had sanctioned. With great penetration into the spirit of Christianity he determined the true value of many usages among Christians; traced with learning and acuteness the causes of the several changes in the external form of Christianity, and exposed their origin without reserve. All this, and more, he has done better, more thoroughly, and in a manner more consonant to protestant principles, than any of his predecessors. Where his criticism borders upon too great a propensity to doubt, and he has carried his doubts too far, he is sufficiently ready to return and correct himself: but had it not been for his reasonable distrust, we should have been left under the influence of many false and exaggerated representations respecting the ancient periods of Christianity.

The ignorance and slothfulness of the middle ages would seem to mark them out for an unimportant period to the historian, and unworthy of much labour; for whatever was peculiar to them in regard to systematic theology is in the highest degree meagre, unfruitful, and useless, and remained so till the time of the reformation approached, when rich materials again present themselves, from which, without much pains, one may draw copiously. But Semler is more full, more profound and learned upon the middle ages, than upon this last period. He first broke up the whole wild, overgrown field, prepared it for tillage, and, as far as possible for one man, began its cultivation. His labour at the commencement of this period was difficult; but far more difficult as it extended: and the farther he advanced, the harder was his task. But, instead of shrinking from difficulties, his diligence and courage preserved a due proportion to the obstacles to be overcome.

His manner of treating the history was the same as in the first five hundred years. He furnishes a collection of fragments for a future ample ecclesiastical history of the middle ages; he has collected a mass of materials from the best writers, and thrown them together under certain heads, and thus given a series of valuable authorities, cited for the most part in the words of their authors; and he has made extracts, with reflections, from the acts of councils for the enriching of literature and criticism. In all this he is not so full as in the earlier history of the church; but this is not his fault. The sources from which he could draw are not so abundant; and he was not able to read every thing; nor could this be exacted of him, as there was so much want of the previous labour of others. It is rather matter of surprise, that he could read so much, and make his extracts from so many writings. Others may now advance from the ground to which he attained, and collect what was not within the compass of his ability: and thus at length all the necessary materials, well examined, and their value known, may be brought together, from which a correct body of ecclesiastical history may be completed.

As well in the first ages of the history of the fathers, as in the middle ages, literary history was a principal object of attention with Semler—a circumstance which will make his history of the middle age of the church indispensable to every solid scholar. His attention to literary history commences exactly at a period when it had hitherto been accustomed to cease, and when at most it had been directed to the titles and externals of works, because it was thought no valuable prize was to be obtained from such barbarous writers. But Cave and the *Histoire littéraire de France* operated against this general prejudice. Semler did not suffer himself to be infected with the common aversion, with which those writers were regarded; but read them as much as he was able, and studied them as old classic authors. In fine, he attained to a richness of historical and critical observations upon them and their contents, by which even Cave and the *Histoire littéraire de France*, to say nothing of more defective works, might be corrected and improved.

As he approached the reformation, particularly in the fifteenth century, he became much more prolix, in order to represent correctly what led immediately to the reformation itself, and to shew its direct consequences. By means of the extracts he produces from writers of the fifteenth century, it must appear plain to every one, that even then the ground of the reformation was laid; that it was neither marvellous in its origin, nor the effect of any political design; but that after such preparatory causes, and under such circumstances, it could not without a miracle have been prevented. Luther himself, particularly in the first periods of his great undertaking, did not advance a single proposition, which was not before advanced by one and another of the learned in the fifteenth century. The sudden and general approbation therefore, in and out of Germany, may easily be accounted for.

The history of the reformation was so laid out by Semler, that by means of a series of *excerpta* from the writings of the reformers and their illustrious contemporaries, it plainly appeared how their great work proceeded from small beginnings, and advanced gradually, step by step. Not every thing that proceeds from Luther is, as indolence and pride are so ready to believe, incapable of improvement; but this illustrious reformer has left much for posterity to pursue in completing the work. Semler shewed in what way the progress of the reformation was interrupted after the death of Luther, and how false opinions struck deep root in the church. Every new attempt at improvement of teaching was accounted the breaking out of a punishable attempt at innovation, by which utter destruction was threatened to the church, to the purity of its doctrines, and to religion itself.

So many things important, novel, and bold, did this great man accomplish in the history of the church. But it is to be lamented that none of his works are brought down to our time, and completed. As often as he began at the commencement of the seventeenth century, he returned and pursued again the long way through all periods to his accustomed limit. His new travels however were always remarkable for

discoveries that had before escaped his notice, and were thus subservient to the increase of knowledge. Still it was irksome to accompany him again in reviewing the same ground, which was thought to have been already sufficiently explored. The whole value of his peculiar investigations and discoveries cannot be estimated from any individual work, and it was therefore a wish, often expressed to him in his life time, that he would collect together in one publication the whole history of the revolutions in the church, which he had discovered and verified from his own examination.

By studying the gradual origin of our present prevailing systems in the church, and the history of particular doctrines, Semler prepared himself for the reformation of dogmatic theology, and for his personal defence against the dangers which threatened him in the undertaking. The first piece which proceeded from him upon this subject, the history of the present system of doctrines, was of no inconsiderable value. It shewed under what conjunctures, and under the influence of what constellations, whether literary or ecclesiastical, it had arisen, in what various ways its fabrick had been changed, how it had been constructed in parts at different times, and how variously it had been furnished, till it became what it now is, a gothic palace, with its gothic furniture. He furnished an apology for those independent scholars, who are disposed to undertake the revision of dogmatic theology at the present time, to remove from it what is not consonant to their belief, and what is not adapted to present necessities. He gave to young theologians a just and perfect conception of the extent of dogmatic theology, of the right method of studying it, and of the necessity of a theological system, which should secure them from many prejudices, and from the pernicious declamations in which mystical and fanatical scorners and calumniators indulged themselves. Still his work was not complete, either in its compass or in its execution. He pursued the history of the system only to the end of the seventeenth century, and was full only upon the subject of internal changes, a subject however of great critical and literary importance. In some per-

tions indeed he is more prodig than in others. His account of the works of the scholastics is so particular and ample, that it plainly appears he had read and examined them himself, and that he has portrayed them with a knowledge resulting from his own investigations. But Cramer,* who came after him, has excelled him. Had the bent of Semler's genius allowed him, after the examination of particular parts of his subject, to embrace the whole, and to write a complete work with the same laborious exactness that he has displayed in certain portions, his work would have been worthy of a crown.

Of still more consequence than these first investigations were his subsequent researches into the history of doctrines, and his inquiries concerning them, which tended to shew how they were gradually presented under distinct propositions, founded in arbitrary authority, rather than proved from the sacred writings.† The study of ecclesiastical history will convince any one, that every father in the church modified the difficult and obscure doctrines which prevailed, according to the measure of his abilities; and the extent of his philosophical powers; that ecclesiastical decisions seldom had for their foundation a critical attention to the use of language and to the connexion of things, but rather a cumbrous kind of dialectics, the offspring in earlier times of Platonic philosophy, and afterwards of scholastic learning; that to the great disadvantage of any thing perspicuous, not only the books for scholars,

* [John Andrew Cramer, who was born in Germany in 1723. In 1754 he was invited to be chaplain to the court of Copenhagen, and afterward appointed professor of theology in the university in that place. He was disgraced however at the time of the ruin of the minister Struensee, and retired to Lubec. He was afterward received again into favour, and appointed professor of theology in the university of Kiel. He died in 1788. He was a poet as well as a theologian. In Denmark he is said to have been distinguished by the title of "the thoroughly good." We do not know what work or works of his are particularly referred to above. Perhaps his edition of Bossuet's Universal History with dissertations. Ed.]

† Semlers Einleitung zu Baumgartens Polemic. (Introduction to Baumgarten's Polemic.)

but also the popular writings for the instruction of the great mass, are filled with expressions from the fathers, whose philosophical representations, no less than the language in which they were conveyed, were as opposite to ours, as the east to the west; that far the most part discussions, and therefore accident rather than still, peaceful, and cool reflection, gave rise to doctrines considered universally binding, although in fact, proceeding as they did from such impure sources, they are no more obligatory than the theological speculations of a Des Cartes or a Leibnitz. A perfect *historia dogmatum*, collected from the original authorities, themselves, would shed a clear light upon the obscurity of dogmatic theology, and become the safe pole-star, through the labyrinth of systems, to every theologian. Yet even to our times no such work has been written, nor probably will be for a long time to come; for it must be a work resulting from patient and deliberate examination, and from the most extensive reading, the most unrearied industry, and undivided exertion—requisites which we can scarcely expect to find united in the same man.

It is wonderful that such a work was not thought of earlier, in the flourishing times of polemic theology, and commenced and prosecuted with earnestness and zeal. In all disputes every thing was carried by the assertion, that the doctrine defended had ever been the immutable doctrine of the church. Thus it became incumbent upon the other party, not to prove the doctrine false, but that it had not been the prevailing doctrine of the church; for if one contended for his opinions upon philosophical or scriptural grounds only, he contended in vain. The oldest systems, those of John of Damascus, Peter of Lombardy, and of the rest of the scholastics, with their fine demonstrations, were built perpetually upon authority, consequently upon history. Yet the unravelling of the history of doctrines still remained neglected; for no other reason probably, than the apprehension that it would lead to different results from those that were desired.

The reformation at length had such an influence upon the church, as to afford a favourable opportunity for the history

of doctrines; and the Magdeburg *Centuriators** enriched their work by devoting a chapter to this history for each century. Their illiterate and slothful sons rested for a long time contented with the laurels which their fathers had obtained. They used, as occasion required, what they found collected in this circumscribed history. A few men however of superior minds selected from the great mass particular doctrines, and presented their history more amply and more definitely, till at length Petavius† embraced the whole in a work of his own, and carried it through the time of the true fathers of the church; but his work is inadequate to the necessities of protestant theologians.

In the mean time the extent of every species of learning became enlarged; the knowledge of language was cultivated to more perfection and exactness; and criticism and philosophy attained to a height, which they had never reached before. With the superior culture of all subsidiary knowledge, the claims which had before been made upon the inquirers into the history of doctrines were naturally increased, and former labours in this province were accounted defective and unsatisfying. Under these circumstances Semler commenced his survey of this wide field, beset with various obstacles, in order to make it smooth and easy of access. He abridged the difficult task as much as he could without prejudice to perspicuity and profoundness of research. Over the first three centuries he went thoroughly. The teachers of this time were more careless than has commonly been supposed concerning theological opinions, and are of inconsiderable value for a true history of doctrines. In the fourth century every thing

* [An appellation given to certain learned Germans of the city of Magdeburg, who, in the early days of the reformation, composed a body of church history divided into centuries of years. They have been before mentioned, vol. ii. p. 49. Tr.]

† [In his *Dogmata Theologica*, "a work of incredible labour and compass." It was first published at Paris in 1644—1650 in 5 vols. fol., afterward at Florence in 1722, and at Amsterdam in 1763 in 3 vols. fol. Ed.]

was a laboured mixture of religion and philosophy; and here the materials for the examiner of the opinions of the church in a manner commence. From this period Semler devoted his particular attention to the leaders of different parties. As, to mention one instance, from the time of Cyprian, all Africa was imbued with the peculiarities of Tertullian, so almost every where one may proceed geographically in the history of theological opinions and language, since the clergy of a whole country almost always adhered, both in doctrine, and in the manner of exhibiting it, to one leader, whom they blindly followed. And when his language and manner is described and illustrated, the same thing is done for a long period, and an extensive country.

In these investigations Semler had the desired opportunity of placing in a distinct contrast—theology and religion—provincial theology and universal christianity—learned dogmas and feeble catechisms; of representing the influence of the version of the Latin-church upon the origin, formation, and nature of doctrines, and of shewing how these doctrines were rather obtruded one by one, through the power of the church, than received from conviction.

In this part of theological learning, however, Semler has only collected the materials for a future, more ample history of our doctrines, and thrown them together without regard to arrangement. He has not provided in the least degree for convenience in consulting his selections. The gradual changes of doctrine to be found in the fathers are not disposed in chronological order, as they should be to give a clear view of the origin of the articles of belief in the church.

Semler therefore has left much in this field to be gathered by active and learned theologians. If a work should be written, which should dispose in order those parts of the history of doctrines already examined, together with their results, out of the various writings where they are now scattered in fragments; and which should also excite learned theologians, who felt the inclination and the call for such severe labor, to share the remaining part, we might at length acquire upon

this important part of theological learning an entire, and, as far as possible, a perfect history. Thus young theologians would be conducted to the best field for the exercise of their minds, where they might accustom themselves to estimate the ideas, expressions, and representations of systems according to their deserts. They would thence learn what writings of the fathers were to be read, and how they were to read them; and would become acquainted beforehand with the contents of the most respectable. They would thence also acquire very different conceptions of the prevailing doctrines, from those received through the common books of instruction on this subject, written without knowledge of the peculiar language of the fathers, and would early accustom themselves to the wavering opinions of the church.

To the middle of the present [eighteenth] century two theological schools in Germany contended with each other for preeminence;—that of Spener,* and that of Wolf.† The first, whose centre was at Halle, from a love of the practical part of Christianity, had gradually become a foe to respectable theological learning founded in history, language, and philosophy; and, to complete the misfortune, attributed a sort of magical efficacy to certain words and figures of the sacred writings. Those of the other party enlisted in their aid all

* [Philip James Spener, a Lutheran divine, born in 1635. He was at the head of those mentioned above called the Pietists. They maintained that only such as are inspired by the Holy Ghost can understand the scriptures. He held some ecclesiastical dignities at Berlin. He died in 1705. *Ed.*]

† We presume the celebrated German philosopher Christian Wolf, a disciple of the philosophy of Leibnitz. He was born in 1679. In 1707 he was appointed professor of mathematics at Halle. Here he became obnoxious from his opinions concerning necessity, and particularly from an extravagant and hyperbolical oration which he delivered on the morality of the Chinese, in consequence of which he was obliged to leave his professorship. He retired to Cassel, but was in 1741 recalled by the king of Prussia, made professor of the law of nature and nations at Halle, and afterwards chancellor of the University. He was created likewise a Baron of the Roman Empire. He died in 1754. *Ed.*]

of Wolf's philosophy and manner of teaching, and, full of insolent confidence in their demonstrations, despised all the helps of interpretation and history. Baumgarten, nurtured in the lap of the pietists, and led afterwards, through a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, into the arms of the Wolfian philosophy, embraced from the first a love for the use of the bible, and afterward a deeper habit of thinking, and united with them a regard for history. Thus he originated an intermediate state of theology, that afforded hope of improvement. But his use of the bible was defective; for he was not supported and guided by enlightened philology and criticism. His speculations did not lead him to an independent manner of thinking, because he had been too much accustomed in his early years to words and forms, and to a sort of register of doctrines, which received nothing but what corresponded to its purpose; and his knowledge of history, as far as it is subsidiary to theology, was not drawn sufficiently from original authorities. But his school was an excellent preparation for the new theology. One was first exercised in the helps to knowledge, in which Baumgarten could pass for little more than a beginner; yet the reflections excited by this means in his scholars led to greater freedom of investigation and of judgment. He attempted to demonstrate every thing to his scholars; but the basis of his demonstrations was shaken by philology, history, and criticism. Here then is the beginning of our new, independent manner of teaching in theology.

Semler was of the number of those choice persons, who labored with unremitting activity in this new creation. Yet he was prepared only by gradual and severe labor for the reformation of dogmatic theology; according to his opportunities from time to time of possessing himself of the necessary helps to the knowledge of it, and his acquaintance with the bold theologians of earlier times. Fortunately, in the study of dogmatic theology, he fell into the hands of excellent guides. The great Calixtus was his pattern in boldness of thinking, and in distinguishing between *theology* and *religion*; Pfaff in

the illustration of doctrines by means of history, and in liberality and frankness of judgment; Weismann in sound theological inquiry, and in condemning affected demonstrations: the Arminians, Episeopius and Curellaeus in a love for the simplicity of the scriptures, in sound interpretation of these writings, and in bold unshackled judgment; Simon and Le Clerc in impartial examination of the text of our bible, and in the banishing of Rabbiniacal-Christian prejudices. In the year 1765 Semler commenced with vigorous steps his new course, and pursued it with spirit and ability to the last ten years of his life.

Yet Semler was never perfectly systematic in this department; nor could he become so. Although he was more perfectly skilled in two branches of knowledge, interpretation and history, which are the foundation of dogmatic theology, than the most systematic theologians; yet, on the other hand, he failed almost entirely in systematic philosophy, and in exact and definite expression. He was satisfied therefore with certain peculiar, and for the most part excellent observations in this department, which will furnish very valuable materials to one who may hereafter pursue the subject systematically.

In his books of instruction upon dogmatic theology he refers to Latin and German works in particular, as is necessary in the instruction of young theologians, who must know the system of the church, as Hutter, Calov, Quenstedt, Gerard, and others have exhibited it. Thence he provides for a liberal judgment concerning the system. He traces the gradual progress of the doctrines of the present time, and examines for the purpose of finding how strongly or feebly each is supported by the bible itself; and enlarges as well upon the relation it bears to real Christianity, as upon its intrinsic importance.* Thus in regard to dogmatic theology he opened a free range for liberal minds.

Still however he produced more that was excellent upon this

* Semleri institutio ad doctrinam Christianam liberaliter discendam. Hal. 1774, 8vo. [This work has lately been added to the library of the college in this place. Ed.]

branch of knowledge in his historical, critical, and exegetical writings, in which he never lost sight of the system of the church; delivered boldly and without disguise his judgment concerning; it here and there, according to circumstances, improved, corrected, illustrated, limited, or rejected the same; and produced a rich treasure of theological ideas. This without doubt was the safest method. A book of theological instruction is not the place for bold assertions, unless one is willing to risk the danger of making too great changes at once, or of bringing on himself the accusation of rashness.

Semler adopted many of his apparent innovations from the ancient heretics. The Gnostics and the disciples of Marcion attempted the annihilation of the Jewish spirit in Christianity. Wholly in their spirit Semler was jealous lest too much stress should be laid upon the support adduced from the Old Testament in favor of the system of doctrines in the New, the value of which has been extremely exaggerated, and of which Christianity, so distinct in its spirit, stands in no need. His system concerning the temporal and local garb of the New Testament led him to distinguish between the different periods of those writings from which the proof passages for any doctrine were drawn. Christ may have spoken one passage in an earlier, and another in a later period of his office as a teacher. Now John may have spoken before, and again after his full views of the religion; and the apostles may here have uttered themselves before, and there after the effusion of the Holy Spirit. If Semler ever taught the same dogma with the church, still his proofs in its support were never the common ones; and he imposed on the teachers of theology a liberal change in the manner of coming at their proofs.

He has either given himself, or adopted from others among his contemporaries, the most novel views of dogmatic theology. In the improvements of the article concerning sacred writ, in the departments relating to the canon, to inspiration, and to the estimate of miracles, as proofs for the truth of Christianity, Semler was conspicuously preeminent. He was the first among the German theologians, who dared to contend against

the universal prejudice concerning the influence of the devil upon the earth, and who attempted in earnest to correct the prevailing notions in regard to demons. As a means of coming to a decision upon the article of grace, he put into new circulation the principal writings of the Pelagian controversy, accompanied with liberal remarks. The satisfaction of Christ he made to consist in the love of God and of Christ towards man, and not to be any satisfaction of the vindictive justice of God; and expiation he did not consider the result of any physical power, independent of ourselves, but regarded it as a moral work in man himself.

As cheerfully as one listens to Semler upon dogmatical subjects, yet he cannot but be dissatisfied with his manner. He expresses himself ambiguously, in terms too general, and in words which give no definite and precise idea; he is involved and obscure, particularly in nice and subtle matters, to the greater vexation of the reader, since, where it is so difficult to make himself rightly understood, one ought to labor for the most exact phraseology.

With his peculiarly liberal manner of teaching, it was impossible that Semler should regard with much solicitude the symbolical books. His decisions concerning them were the decisions of a competent judge; declared by one who had fully prepared himself by long study of ecclesiastical history, and by faithful investigations concerning the origin of creeds, and their purport. As might be expected from him, he explained the same, meagerly indeed for common Christians, but elaborately for the teachers of religion, who ought to be able, by means of intelligible theories and clear propositions, to state and properly define their theological ideas. Such theories, as appears from history, have ever been subject to great changes, and we are not to consider them fixed and invariable from what they were in the sixteenth century, unless we are disposed to favor a sectarian hatred, and check the growing disposition for the liberal acknowledgment of the truth.*

* Semleri Apparatus ad libros symbolicos ecclesiarum Lutheranarum. Hal. 1775, 8vo.

Such was the boldness and vigor with which Semler pursued his way in theological subjects for thirty years, giving himself no concern for the hatred and reproach of zealots, in hopes that all his pains would not be entirely fruitless, after he had become enervated by his exertions to break the yoke of theological slavery. He found that there was no surer way of becoming a victim to a bold and independent spirit, than by the exercise of a free and open judgment in theology. His publications were stigmatized as injurious, heretical, damnable; and who knows what sentence might not have been passed upon him, had he not fortunately lived in the times and in the empire of Frederic the second; or how much more, in a foreign country, the zealots and defenders of scholastic extravagances might not have been enraged against him, had not a theologian, respected for orthodoxy, supported him in many cases with the whole weight of his theological character. Ernesti took an active interest in Semler, so that in general, as long as he lived, without allowing himself to define very exactly, he countenanced in many things the system of the reformed theologians. He could not himself well become a reformer, since he went late to the particular pursuit of theology, and lived in a situation unfavorable to the difficult work of reformation. The only immediate service that he rendered the system was his showing by what cunning misinterpretation the doctrine concerning the three offices of Christ had its origin; and his almost universally acknowledged authority in theology was sufficient to give his work a passport into those parts of Saxony, where all changes in system were resisted with great zeal. The service that he thus ultimately rendered was great. He did not stand in the way of those ingenuous men, who with earnestness and dignity proposed improvements in the system of doctrines; and, from his acuteness in theological subjects, he knew how far to suffer the bold and liberal ideas that were advanced upon certain theological problems to pass unensured. Had not Ernesti extolled Junkheim's work upon the operations of divine grace, it would have cost a long and obstinate warfare before he could have gained admission for

his sentiments into the system. And, on the whole, Ernesti suffered as many of the innovations of Semler to pass without opposition, as consisted with safety, in regard to his own reputation.

Still however the life of Semler was one continued warfare against the numerous adversaries of his liberal speculations. As he was by no means very sparing of his prejudices against his opponents,* so they in turn did not spare him, or his opinions; and their opposition was often mixed with malicious allusions and odious insinuations, which made his ill-humour the more restless, in proportion as he was conscious to himself of the most honest and pure intentions. From his internal consciousness of innocence, he sometimes, when a cold answer or the silence of contempt would have better answered his purpose, broke out into violent passion and railing, which ill-comported with his dignity. Even the misunderstanding of his ideas, upon which the opposition of his adversaries was often founded, he should have borne more patiently; for not unfrequently the blame was to be imputed to himself. As a writer he was much too careless. He never exhausted his subjects; he never strove to make himself easily comprehended; his manner, his ideas, and his language were novel, and peculiar to himself; and he paid too little regard to the customary manner of writing, and to the proper arrangement and unfolding of his thoughts. The study of his writings therefore requires great labor; and even with this, one is seldom sure that he has thoroughly penetrated his ideas.

The art of philosophical explanation in particular is not to be looked for in Semler; for he had never, through the study of any philosophical system, given his mind a direction towards a clear manner of reasoning. He never proceeded from any general principles, under which he should have disposed his remarks; but presented certain insulated observations, which his reader, who would make further use of them, must reduce to such principles. In every subject he followed the method of sifting the different opinions of his predecessors,

* See Semler's writings against Schröpfer, Gäßner, &c.

to which his extensive reading led him, and of intermixing his own ideas. But he did not build his criticism upon any fundamental maxims, nor present separately his peculiar opinions, with their proofs. Thus his remarks were extremely vague and defective, and his opinions were so imperfectly represented, that they were collected only by a few select readers, who took upon themselves the severe task of searching here and there for the detached fragments, and of binding them into a whole. In fine, as vast as his knowledge was, he could not easily present any subject in its full extent; he was generally seduced by a predilection for some of its parts: and it is often difficult to ascertain the reasons, why he has done so much, without doing more. In none of his writings therefore, was he more unfortunate, than in compendiums, which ought to give a whole outline of a department of knowledge. He soon lost himself in surveying certain parts of inconsiderable consequence towards a view of the whole; and in making particular remarks, peculiar to himself, which indeed were acceptable to the master in that department, but of little use to the beginner, and unsuitable to the intention of the book.

In the manner hitherto described, with great boldness and impartiality, had Semler written and taught for more than thirty years, when suddenly, in the year 1779, he changed his whole theological character. In answer to Bahrdt's* confession of faith (which no one will approve) he gave a defence of the system of the church, in which we no longer find the bold theologian, who had labored so much for the advancement of a liberal mode of thinking in theology, in his exegeti-

* [Charles Frederic Bahrdt, who was born in Germany in 1741. After being the author of various theological works, offensive in their sentiments, he became a professed deist, and formed the design of being the founder of an avowed deistical sect in Prussia. His life was unsettled, and he was engaged in various projects, none of which seem to have been successful. In his conduct he was unprincipled and profligate. He drove his wife from his house by his ill-treatment, and lived in adultery with his maid-servant. Toward the close of his life he settled near Halle as a farmer and innkeeper. His works on religion and morality and other subjects were very numerous. He died in 1792. Ed.]

cal and historical writings; who had changed in many particulars the mode of theological instruction; and who had contended with such manly resolution for tolerance and freedom of conscience. He thus made claim to a well deserved place among the orthodox theologians of our church, and, tempted by the opposition of his contemporaries, he denied that he had ever departed from its orthodox doctrines. He represented that whatever was novel and bold in his works, concerned only the manner of teaching; that his reformation extended only to the field of theological literature, in which he had met with many prejudices and false opinions, and much defective knowledge, where he attempted to expose and rectify what was false, and to supply what was imperfect; but that theological learning has no close connexion with theoretical and practical christianity, nor bare theory with doctrine; and that he never proposed that the instruction of the people in catechisms and books of devotion, should be differently ordered, according to more perfect and clear ideas.

In defence of what came thus unexpectedly from Semler, he insisted upon the great distinction between historical, social, and moral religion, and acknowledged no close connexion between them. Historical religion embraces only the history and the doctrines of Jesus in their literal sense, without any application to the Christian, and to his individual moral situation; social religion consists in principles embraced by the church as set forth in confessions and formularies, and prescribed for the instruction and belief of the church, to preserve external order, unity and peace, among the Christians of a country, and the members of a church; and moral religion proceeds from each individual's unfolding doctrines drawn from the New Testament, and applying them to his heart, and is displayed in the sentiments and conduct of men. The great mass of Christians are satisfied with historical belief, and the interpretations of the church; Christians of greater capacity receive religion in its proper spirit, form themselves upon it, and apply it to the various circumstances of their moral condition; social religion is but the instrument, by

which internal moral religion is promoted, in those who are capable of its exercise.

How these three sorts of religion are so completely disjoined, that each can subsist by itself; how a more pure and reformed mode of teaching should have no influence upon doctrines, and no connexion with them; how the internal moral religion should be peculiar only to Christians of greater capacity, and historical religion should suffice for the great mass of Christians;—all this is more difficult to apprehend, than all the bold and liberal notions, which Semler in former years had diffused through the public. The historical faith which the common Christian acquires from the church, must have an influence upon his mind, greater or less in proportion to his abilities, no less than the faith drawn from the scriptures themselves. No sort of knowledge remains wholly unfruitful, although the degree of its fruitfulness necessarily differs, according to the difference of the powers of the individual. Now the question occurs, whether religion shall be made more difficult to the weak, and more easy to the strong; and whether the system of doctrines shall be presented to the former in the old, unintelligible, platonic and scholastic style and manner, or in the language of the bible, more simple and intelligible, more easy for profitable examination, and more adapted to moral improvement: whether one should not, after a *formula* has been approved by the different sects of the church, exhibit the same in a more plain and exact manner, if a learned theologian should find such a method. Is it not of consequence what are the first principles, in which a scholar is grounded; since these are liable to give a direction to his mind, which will last through his life? Is it not also of much consequence by what means intrinsic, moral religion is produced; whether they be good or bad, whether they be true, partially true, or false; whether moral operations in man are facilitated or obstructed; whether they are promoted by direct or circuitous ways, and whether they are advanced or suffered to decline? Shall not one labor, with discretion indeed, to bring social religion into a more intimate connexion with genuine Chris-

tianity? Shall one hide the light, which reflection upon the doctrines of Christ has produced, under that bushel—the rule of church instruction? Shall one think for himself concerning what is best, and most pure, and therefore most adapted to moral direction and improvement, and apply it to his own heart, and yet if he is publicly set apart for forming the morals of the people, must he not adopt the best and purest instructions in pursuit of his end, because they do not agree with the language of social religion, which has been spoken for many hundred years? Shall duty towards God give way to this notion of social duty; or shall the laws of morality be subordinate to the laws of the church? According to such reasoning, Christ and the apostles did extremely wrong to prescribe a system of doctrines to the Jews, without the authority of their nation. We protestants also should be rebels to the church, which professes to be the only church in which salvation is to be obtained; and Luther would be the leader of rebels, and a perjured teacher, or at least unmindful of his oath or his obligations, in proposing his antipapal *theses* at Wittenburg. Upon this ground no changes ought ever to have been contemplated in the Romish church, and the catholics ought to have forever continued slaves to the doctrines of their communion, although their understandings were convinced, that some were unintelligible, and others false. For what have the protestants studied almost three hundred years? Why have they sought with so much pains to bring the helps of theological learning—the knowledge of language, of criticism, of interpretation, of philosophy, of the history of the church and of doctrines, to their present perfection? Why especially do they still pursue the study of theology? Is it so unfruitful and useless a study; has theory no influence upon doctrine; have the reformers accomplished and perfected every thing, and put their seal to truths, which are to be binding to the end of time? Yet their *formula* was wholly opposed to the will of the hitherto dominant church, and accounted nothing better than unlawful innovation. Let us, protestants, hasten again into the lap of the mother-church! Then

will all controversy be at an end; then will there be one flock and one shepherd. Then will every thing be taught and preached and sung in the old way, in the good old church dialect. Every one shall then also think and believe in his heart, what he pleases; have his own internal views of private religion, and provide for his own moral necessities. The church requires neither in teachers nor in the laity truth and sincerity in words and works.

Thus abundant in hardy and dangerous speculations, subversive of protestant principles, was the system which Semler supported, either from the weakness of old age, or, as some suppose, in order to justify his peculiarly inconsiderate step, in answering Bahrdt's confession of faith. It would have been better in the last case rather to have confessed too much haste, or to have returned wholly to the old system of the church, than to have struck out so unfortunate a middle course. He now however undertook to defend the system of church doctrines. But what thanks could he deserve from the party to which he thus stooped? He still did not defend the system in its true and genuine sense: he said nothing of the efficacious obedience of Christ, of his vicarious sufferings, of atonement and redemption, in the way in which these doctrines are set forth in the rules of doctrine.

By this sudden change, Sémler in a manner annihilated the labor of a whole literary life, filled with exertion. The system which he had already changed for the best, he was obliged in one place to alter, and in another to consider in a new light. In his *nova observationes* he had reproached the old church, inasmuch as the ruling party, through its public ordinances concerning religion, had suppressed the right of private judgment; and he uttered many offensive opinions, as well concerning councils and synods, with their orders and statutes, as concerning rules of doctrine, and books of confessions. Now he retracted all this, and became animated, as if with holy zeal, to vindicate the impaired honor of councils and their decrees, and the discredited usefulness of public rules of doctrine. He assumed, that, in ecclesiastical assem-

bties, a difference has always been supposed between the language of the church as settled by them for teachers, and the private opinions of the teachers themselves, and the peculiar religious ideas of the laity; that in the compiling of the deerees of councils and public rules of doctrine, there was no arrogating an unlawful authority over the conscience; that the formulas were not intended to prescribe what the Christian or teacher should think and believe in order to be saved, but what instructions in religion should be publicly imparted by the teacher, in order to declare himself and his hearers to be members of a particular communion, connected and held together by public rules of doctrine; that these rules of doctrine, however, were not intended to have any influence upon inward dispositions and moral improvement, but that, in short, they were designed merely, through the introduction of a common church language, to furnish Christians of various opinions, a common ground, in their public religious assemblies, and to prevent disunion and disturbance in the society.

If a teacher is to use the contents of the creed only as watch-words, and the church is to agree with him in feeling no obligation to believe the whole that he teaches, and to expect from him no real conviction of the truth of what he utters, the yoke of a creed is indeed very light: but such levity in religion, the most important concern of mankind, would be intolerable; such indifference to truth and error in regard to God, and our relation to him, unpardonable; and such a violation of conscience, publicly authorized by the church itself, inexcusable. Such probably was never the opinion and design of the church. It is much more probable, that in the most ancient churches, it was prescribed to the teachers, not only what they should publicly utter, but also what they and the laity, as obedient children of the church, should believe, in order to obtain salvation. The church, since she first felt her power, has manifested a disposition to rule with unlimited sway the faith of her members; and hence has armed herself with damning clauses and the threatened torments of another life against every act of disobedience in her children. This is amply verified in the Athanasian creed.

The church indeed, as things now stand, is in lamentable danger; but entirely through the fault of her principal servants. She holds her creeds inviolable; yet for a space of some hundred years, they have continued without the least improvement, and their contrast with present views of religion throws contempt not merely upon her rules of doctrine, but even upon religion itself; because it is only a few wise men who properly distinguish between them. It is absurd in manhood to feel, and think, and speak like a child; it is criminal so to invade the rights of intellectual man, either in regard to individuals or communities, as to set limits to his improvement. But every obstacle to the enlightening of the understanding, will eventually be broken through. At the present day it is dangerous to give to every teacher the power of communicating the full measure of truth. The ultimate end of truth concerns the whole, not each individual; and religion is necessary to be explained for the mass, not for every one in particular! that portion of truth only is important to be imparted to every one, which promotes his individual happiness; and only that degree of illumination, which bears some proportion to his previous knowledge, can be useful. Prudence and benevolence must settle the limits, within which the teachers of the people ought to keep, in explaining religion. None therefore but the most wise and discreet, the most gentle and enlightened of every age, should sit at the fountain of truth, and dispense to every one according to his necessities. But can the consistories appeal to their consciences in this case? Have they proyed the spirit of their chosen teachers? Have they excluded men destitute of theological illumination, and without prudence and benevolence? Have they excluded children and babes in religious knowledge from offices in the church? Have they performed the duties which they owe to their country, to the present age, and to posterity; or have they drank nothing but the milk of catechisms, and hated those adults in religion who have learned the art of preparing stronger food for their fellow men? Or have they been seduced by fear of man, or unseasonable compassion, or any other mean causes,

from performing the duties of their office with conscientious vigor? If they have, it follows that they are liable to the blame of all the infidelity, and superstition, and extravagance that prevail. It was their duty, and, if they have omitted it, they have been inadequate to their office, or unworthy of it, not barely to impart the doctrines of the church, but also to give the best possible explanations of them to their scholars, since teachers were to proceed from their schools for all times, and situations, and orders, and since they, no less than themselves, would undertake to set limits to the explanations of religion. It was their duty, and if they have omitted it, they have been hirelings, and unworthy of their office, to find, in respect to their scholars, whether the pains of their teachers were fruitless; whether their pupils united with clear views of the whole extent of religion, of theology, and of subsidiary knowledge, an intelligent, judicious, honest and benevolent spirit; and it was their duty to be vigilant that they did honor to their important calling by their lives. This is all that Christianity requires; she rejects every thing unbecoming her intrinsic power and dignity. She aims to conquer and to rule by force of her native virtue and truth. And, with confidence in this unborrowed worth, with which she is endued by heaven, she has contended, for eighteen hundred years, with all opposition, fearless of every foe, however armed for defence. She has contended and conquered, and concluded every warfare with renovated strength; and she will continue to conquer to the end of time.

No state should suffer the principles upon which the virtue and tranquillity of men depend to be shaken by sceptics and opposers. No care is superfluous, which aims to make practical religion secure from all possible danger, and to promote ignorance, in many particulars, in regard to those to whom it is beneficial, and whose illumination, in those particulars, would be injurious. But, on the contrary, there can be no right to keep those in ignorance, who ought to be enlightened, and whose instruction is indispensable to their tranquillity. The sword that one takes from the child, that he

may not wound himself, he puts into the hands of the man, that he may accustom himself to its use, and educate the child to employ it for its own safety. It is the duty of the state to provide institutions for the instruction of all classes of its citizens, and thus to make those of every condition capable of continual improvement; but never should it oppress the genius of the nation by the power of compulsory statutes.

Semler in his last years seceded from this opinion, and thus contradicted the whole system of his former life. He lost in consequence all external support, and his reputation for moral and literary consistency. The corps of orthodox ecclesiastics, into which he wished to be again incorporated, received him into their communion as a deserter; the liberal theologians were astonished at his sudden change, and the severe sallies which he made upon them, and his repeated declamations against certain men of extensive views, who had associated for the purpose of introducing a universal Christianity, at the expense of a local church, consisted of intolerable accusations, wholly unaccompanied with proof. In fine, he found himself at length neglected by all the world. He did not at first perceive how low he had suddenly fallen from that height, which he had ascended in the course of thirty laborious years; but there were not wanting those who pointed it out to him. Wholly unworthy of his former greatness, he now called upon all the theological and juridical faculties, with the full confidence that they would support innocence and rectitude, against those who opposed him with mere words and projects instead of honorable actions. Filled with extreme vexation he indulged himself sometimes in offensive language, and sometimes in loud protestations concerning his irreproachable character. He frequently called upon the public to do him justice in his most recent learned disputes. At length he became dissatisfied with the whole course of pursuits to which he had devoted his life, and wandered to other fields, which he hoped to occupy and explore more peacefully. At first he amused himself with natural history, which afforded him pleasure in his old age, and some recompense for the

pains of his earlier years: after he had tormented himself long enough with the bungling works of man, he was prepared to take delight in the masterpieces of nature. But since old age is subject to infirmities, it is not wonderful, that, by the secret charm that attends what is obscure and mysterious, he suffered himself to be led from what is perceptible to the senses, to what is merely visionary, and took delight in the dark and absurd philosophy of Rosicrutius. Fully convinced that, as great trees spring from small seeds, so gold and silver have their peculiar seeds, which thrive in a proper soil, he took great delight in alchemy. He, who in his earlier years had been continually at war with superstition and extravagance, suffered himself in the last years of his life to be imbued with a visionary philosophy; firmly believed in a secret chemistry and physics, and in some ancient light that has vanished; and under such convictions he was a long time employed in making air and chymical drugs.*

But although the justice of history cannot pass over in silence the infirmities of old age, yet, lamenting the imperfections of human nature, we would throw a veil over the deformities of our father Semler, and dwell rather upon the virtues and excellences of his mind. We cannot but reflect upon what this great theologian accomplished in that part of his life, when his intellectual powers were in their full vigour; and upon all that his acute and subtle mind has composed, read, collected, examined, and prepared for scholars who are to come after him. We cannot but consider how violently he was persecuted and calumniated; how long and earnestly he contended, and how much he endured, in the cause of truth, and in furnishing that light upon theological subjects, which we now enjoy; how severely he must have often been

* [The close of Semler's days will remind some of our readers of the lines of Johnson :—

In life's last scene what prodigies surprize,
Fears of the brave, and follies of the wise ;
From Marlborough's eyes the tears of dotage flow,
And Swift expires—a driveller and a show. Ed.]

wounded, when he found his sincere intentions mistaken, and their honesty doubted—and when they were malignantly ridiculed and slandered; how painful it must have been to have heard his attacks upon theological speculations reproached as attacks upon Christianity itself; and how often he must have stood in need of a spirit like that of Luther, in whose bold manner he had labored to think and write, in order to break through the host of jealous and envious opposers, inflamed against him by a well meaning, but ignorant zeal. We must consider also, that the power of a hero, as great and superior as it may be, must at length be exhausted in old age, by continued effort and constant warfare; that he may become the sport of Liliputians and Pygmies, who, because they have innumerable legions against one giant, lead on continually a new and increased host; that by the decay of bodily strength, even the strongest intellect must in the end be weakened, the firmest mind become irresolute, and the boldest dispirited, and wholly unlike itself. Even Newton in his old age did not understand his Principia, and filled up his time with writing upon the Apocalypse; but still his name is held in grateful remembrance by the mathematicians, who have succeeded him, as that of a new creator in their science. So lives also the name of Semler in our remembrance:—the first reformer of modern theology, the boldest and best read theologian, and the most rich in profound investigations and new results among those who have deceased during the eighteenth century. His zeal, his activity, his efforts in pursuit of more pure and correct knowledge, and the long catalogue of his deserts constitute an example for those, who after him are engaged in theological studies, to excite them to the same indefatigable diligence and activity.

Spargite humum foliis, inducite fontibus umbras,
Et tumulum facite, et tumulo superaddite carmen;
Candidus ignotum miratur lumen Olympi,
Sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera, Daphnis.

UPON THE MEANING OF THE PHRASE “SON OF GOD.”

THE phrase “Son of God” and its corresponding ones, though used so often, and with such variety of application in the scriptures, have been the subjects of as much controversy, as words of the rarest occurrence. It is the design of these remarks to review the cases of the application of these phrases, and of the qualifying epithets, which are sometimes joined with them, that we may the better resolve their meaning when applied to Jesus Christ.

1. We may observe then that angels are called sons of God, probably from the superior dignity of their nature to the human; and by use of the well-known Hebrew idiom, which employed the names of God in the formation of the superlative degree.

2. Good men are sometimes called children and sons of God, from their being objects of his paternal favor and blessing.

3. The children of Israel are called collectively sons of God, to express the peculiar relation, which they bore him as his chosen people. A few examples of this use of the phrase may be quoted. “Is not he thy father that hath bought thee.” Deut. xxxii. 6. “I will lead them—for I am a Father to Israel.” Jer. xxxi. 9. “I will be a Father unto you and ye shall be my sons.” 2 Cor. vi. 18. “Doubtless thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us.” Isaiah, lxiii. 16. “But now, O Lord, thou art our Father; we are the clay, and thou our Potter.” Isaiah, lxiv. 8. How small a portion are these of the texts, in which God is spoken of as the Father of his chosen people!

4. Christian believers are called sons of God, because he hath “begotten them again unto a lively hope.” Some of the instances of this application are the following. “Accordinging to the will of God and our Father.” Gal. i. 4. “One God and Father of all, who is above all.” Eph. iv. 6. “Grace be unto you and peace from God our Father.” 1 Thes. i. 4.

which is repeated eight times in other epistles of Paul. "Unto God and our Father be glory forever." Phil. iv. 20. "In the sight of God and our Father." 1 Thes. i. 3. "Now God himself and our Father direct our way to you." 1 Thes. iii. 11. "That he may establish your hearts unblamable in holiness before God even our Father." 1 Thes. iii. 13. "Peace from God our Father." 2 Thes. i. 2. "Now God even our Father —comfort your hearts." 2 Thes. ii. 16. "In bringing many sons unto glory." Heb. ii. 10. "To them gave he power to become the sons of God." John, i. 12. "That ye may be harmless, the sons of God." Phil. ii. 15. "That we should be called the sons of God." 1 John, iii. 1. "Beloved, now are we the sons of God." 1 John, iii. 2. More texts of this kind are omitted than are here produced.

5. The phrases in question are sometimes used in a figurative way, to express simple creation. As Job. xxxviii. 7, 28.

From the variety of objects therefore, to which these phrases expressing filial relationship to God, (which are all such as Children of God, Sons of God, Our Father, My sons, &c.) are attributed, we may have an opportunity to discover their appropriate import, in their respective applications. The idea of proper filiation is by this variety excluded; and though in some instances we find that nothing is meant by them more than simple creation, as Job xxxviii. 7, 28. Malac. ii. 10. Isa. lxiv. 8. and in some others, nothing but a superiority of nature to the human, yet upon the whole we conclude that these phrases imply a relation of approbation, of favor, and of acceptance, in the sight of God, such as parents feel and exercise towards their children. It is thus, in particular, that God is the Father of the fatherless, and it is thus that the faithful followers of Christ may claim their share in those memorable words, which are the last to be forgotten, and the last to be perverted—"Go unto my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your father, unto my God and your God."

Indeed, if we attend with the least care to the usage of scripture language, we shall find the filial relation attributed with

great latitude of application. Sometimes it implies only descent, as from a remote ancestor; as "*Abraham is our father.*" John, viii. 39. Of this there are innumerable instances. But the cases most to our purpose are such as those where Paul calls Timothy his son, and his own son, and says that he had begotten Onesimus in his bonds; by which he meant nothing more, than that he had converted or confirmed these his children in the faith. To these texts we shall presently revert. Another example very much to our purpose of the use of the filial relationship to God, may be seen in the apocryphal book of Wisdom. "For, if the just man be the son of God, he will help him, and deliver him from the hand of his enemies." Wisd. ii. 18. This passage is indeed from an apocryphal book, but it is not therefore of any less authority for determining the meaning of language in the New Testament. It is from a book which is often alluded to by the apostles, and by Christ, and which seems to be expressly quoted, in this very text, with an application to our Saviour, in the evangelists Matthew and Luke. No more needs be said to show that 'Son of God,' when used without any epithet of peculiarity, implies merely a state of favor or acceptance with our heavenly Father. When we find therefore our Saviour continually called 'Son of God,' we cannot consistently infer from the application of this title alone, to him, any thing more than we can infer from its application to any other person. We must therefore seek a little further, and find what peculiar epithets, or whether any, are joined with these phrases of filial relation, when applied to Jesus Christ, which indicate his being properly Son of God; and which make it necessary to consider those appellations as expressive of his nature and origin, which, when applied to others, express no such thing. And here it may be expedient, though hardly necessary, to observe, that it is one thing to be *peculiarly* Son of God, and another to be *properly* Son of God. If those, who call our Saviour the *peculiar* Son of God, mean only that he was so in an unusual degree, possessing more than any other being, those moral qualities, which the title commonly implies, we have no

controversy with them. We purpose only to say that Jesus Christ, when called the Son of God, is not thereby declared to be *properly* his Son, that is, "of his substance, as begotten of him."

To return then to the epithets, with whith the title of Son of God is supposed to be qualified and specified, when applied to our Saviour. The epithet "only begotten" has been often selected by the advocates of the proper filiation of our Saviour, as expressive of some relationship to God, which is shared by him with no others. Besides referring to the remark just made, that he would by this be proved not the *proper*, but the *peculiar* Son of God, we observe,

1. The original word rendered "only begotten" is *μονογενης*. It is a word, which occurs but nine times in the New Testament, and three times in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament. These few times however will direct us to its proper signification.

2. The word, which is rendered in the Septuagint by *μονογενης*, is יְהוָה. It occurs twelve times in the Hebrew scriptures. Of these twelve times it is rendered by the Greek translation, which was for the most part used by the writers of the New Testament, three times by "only begotten," seven times by "beloved," once by "loved," and once by "solitary."

3. This promiscuous rendering of the same Hebrew word by the words "only begotten" and "beloved," proves that their import in the language of the Greek Scriptures is equivalent. If, however, there be any who, from want of familiarity with the rules of interpretation, do not feel the force of this reasoning, we may adduce an argument, which is built upon a more popular foundation. Epis. Heb. xi. 17. "By faith, Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac; and he, that had received the promises, offered up his ONLY BEGOTTEN Son." On turning to the original, we find that self-same *μονογενης*, which is by St. John applied to Christ; and by looking yet farther to the fountain head in the Hebrew, we find that where God said, of this very transaction, "thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son" the self-same יְהוָה is used,

which is here rendered by the Greek interpreters "beloved." What then shall we say? Notwithstanding the ambiguous Hebrew, the positive Greek of the Epistle, and the positive English translation, we know for a certainty that Isaac was not the only begotten, nor the only son of Abraham. The answer however is very obvious, if we are willing to interpret these expressions of the singular favor, which it was the fortune of Isaac to receive at the hands of his father, but if we reject this answer, and insist upon the literal meaning of *μονογενής*, (only begotten) we do it at the expense of a palpable contradiction of two clear historical texts: viz. Gen. xvi. 15. and xxii. 16, from which it appears that Abraham had other sons than Isaac.

We shall come to conclusions not much different, upon the epithet 'own' as applied to son, Rom. viii. 32, and as applied to father, John v. 18. "He that spared not his own son, but delivered him up for us all:"—"But said also that God was his [own]* father, making himself equal with God." With regard to each of these texts, we may remark, in general, that the tenor of the sense requires only that some peculiar or unusual relation to God should be expressed, and that there appears to be no foundation for the assertion that it demands a literal interpretation of *ἰδίος*: it may be observed also of the last text, that the truth of the assertion it contains depends upon the honesty of a Jewish report, and the conclusion it expresses, upon the correctness of a Jewish inference. Let us see however how much may be inferred from these texts by examining parallel passages of scripture. St. Paul calls Timothy his "own son in the faith." The word *own* here of our English testaments, feebly represents the strength of the original. The Greek word, (*γένιος*) which St. Paul chose, is the strongest he could have selected to express an absolute, perfect, legitimate, and literal relationship. Yet was not

* *ἴδιος ιδίος*. There is the same reason for rendering 'ιδίος' by the word 'own' in this passage, though it is not done in the common version, as there is in the other text Rom. viii. 32, where it is done.

Timothy the son of Paul. In 1 Tim. i. 18, he again calls him “son Timothy,” and the word rendered son is not *בָּנִי*, which is commonly employed to express that relation, but, as in the preceding passage, *בָּנֵךְ*, which implies “begotten son;” as if every phrase had been adapted to convey the idea of a proper relationship. Again, in the second epistle, it is “Timothy my dearly beloved son,” and here is to be found in the original, the important word used by the seventy in translating the Hebrew phrase, Gen. xxii. 16, which in our version is there rendered “only Son.” Still was not Timothy the son of Paul. In the second chapter, the same word is used, as in 1 Timothy i. 18, and Timothy is again addressed as the “*be-gotten son*” of Paul. Nor is this a phraseology of singular occurrence, flowing from the warmth of a particular and exclusive attachment, for in the Epistle to Titus v. 4, we find that he too is Paul’s “*own son, after the common faith.*” Neither do these addresses to Timothy occur only in the Epistles directed to him, who would understand the license of their application; for Paul says to the Corinthians “I have sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son,” nor does he give them that caution against a literal apprehension of his words, which he certainly would have done, had he not been using a language diverted from its literal signification by custom. Finally, in the epistle to Philemon we read, “I beseech thee for *my son Onesimus*, whom *I have begotten in my bonds,*” and if words have power to fortify this expression, they do it, when it is added immediately after, “thou therefore receive him *that is my own bowels.*” How then is Timothy the son, the begotten son, the legitimate son, and the beloved of Paul, how is Titus his legitimate son, and above all how is *Onesimus* begotten in his bonds, and a part as it were of himself? why truly, with all this strength of language, which represents the filial relation, in its manner of production, its consequences, and its attributes, a figurative relation alone is intended; and nothing is conveyed, though so much more is asserted, but that Timothy, and Titus, and *Onesimus* had received and profited by the instructions of the apostle.

Much might be added upon the scripture use of these phrases. We might particularly quote how St. Luke not only calls Adam the Son of God, but calls him Son of God apparently in the very sense, in which he calls Seth the son of Adam, and Isaac the son of Abraham. Does he not say, "which was the son of Enos, which was the son of Seth, which was the son of Adam, which was the Son of God?" By what authority do we interpose a distinction of senses, and say that Seth was the proper son of Adam, but Adam only in a figure the son of God? It is supposed that there is not to be found, in the whole scriptures, a text where the relation of Jesus Christ to our heavenly Father is at all so distinctly conveyed, by the expression, or so clearly implied in the argument.—How shall we, upon the mistaken system of natural import, which is most erroneously confounded with *literal* import, (as if the literal meaning were necessarily the natural meaning, or the natural meaning always the literal, than which nothing is farther from the truth) how shall we understand such a text as—"Israel is my son even my *first-born*," when we compare it with another, where it is said of David, Ps. lxxxix. 27. "I will make him my first-born," with a third, Jer. xxxi. 9. "I am a father and *Ephraim* is my first-born," and with a fourth Heb. i. 6. where it is said of our Saviour "again when he bringeth the first-begotten into the world"? Is there not here as much ground to attribute to our heavenly father, four first born sons, as to adopt the inconceivable idea that he can be the proper father of sons, who are "of his substance as begotten of him." It might also be remarked that in the very chapter, where it is said of Christ "and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of a father," (which, by the way, according to some of the best interpreters, ought to stand "the glory as of *an* only begotten with a father," both words being without articles in the original,) that in this chapter, and in the verse preceding, it is also read, "but as many as received him, to them he gave power to become the sons of God; which were born not of blood, nor of the will of man, nor of the will of flesh, but of God." Born *not* of blood, *nor* the will of

man, but of God. Where is it to be found thus distinctly said of Christ, that he was born *not of blood, but of God?* Is it not, on the contrary, most explicitly asserted, Gal. iv. 4. that God sent forth his Son "*made of a woman;*" γενέσθαι την γυναῖκα? But besides this, how is it possible, if Christ is literally and properly the only begotten of the father; to avoid a palpable contradiction of those texts, which declare, even by exclusion of alternative, that believers are "*born of God,*" and "*begotten again by God to a lively hope.*" We cannot forbear to quote again those gracious words of our Lord himself, in which God is called the father of the faithful, even as he is the Father of the Captain of their salvation—"I ascend unto my Father and your Father, unto my God and your God." And though some not very scrupulous advocate of a proper filiation may interpose here his gloss of "*mine by nature and yours by adoption,*" which is a bold corruption of the most benevolent lines of scripture, I do not for myself well see how he can do this to other passages, and say we are born by adoption, or begotten by adoption. Shall we not then be cautious of explaining, in their literal meaning, those texts, which attribute human affections, human qualities, and human relations to God? Above all shall we not beware of a rule of interpretation, which will array scripture against scripture, apostle against apostle, our Saviour against himself, and God against all, under the idea of adhering to literal meanings?

The sum of what has been said is this. The phrases expressing a filial relationship to God are applied to persons of various characters, conditions, and periods, and of consequence do not indicate their nature and origin, but for the most part their state of favor with the Divine Being. Therefore if we are to be governed by any analogy of language, these appellations cannot *of themselves*, indicate the nature and origin of Jesus Christ:—since to arrive at the natural import of these, or any other phrases, in a foreign, especially in an ancient and an eastern tongue; we must consider, not only what the words individually mean, but what is their signification, according to the idiom of the language. If therefore Christ is

declared by scripture to be properly the Son of God, it must be by some epithet of discrimination. But

The epithet "only begotten" is in the original scriptures synonymous and equivalent with "beloved," since one Hebrew word is rendered indifferently by either of them, and since a passage may be adduced, where it is past dispute that "only begotten" can mean no more than "beloved," viz. Heb. xi. 18.

A similar explanation must be given of "own" and "first born," for if we insist that these epithets of peculiarity imply a proper filiation, when used of our Saviour, we shall be driven into the most ridiculous conceptions of much of scripture language, not to say into the plainest contradictions. The *literal import* therefore of scripture in these passages is not the *natural import*, and he who insists upon the former will fail very widely of the latter.

Thus much may be remarked of the general meaning of the phrases, which imply a filial relationship to God. But there are particular ideas, which are in some instances included in them.

"Son of God" was used by the sacred writers, in very many passages, as synonymous with Messiah. This is so certain, that some respectable writers, as Mr. Locke in his Reasonableness of Christianity, almost take it for granted. Dr. Watts distinctly illustrates, and, it may be thought, clearly proves it. But if it be made a controversy, it is one of considerable length, into which we cannot now enter. It is believed however that a great deal might be said in support of these prepositions:—

1. That the Jews before our Saviour's time, as well as ever since, have had no expectation of a Messiah, who was to be the proper Son of God.

2. That in the Old Testament, the passages which speak of the Messiah in prophecy, do not appear to have been understood so as to justify the hypothesis of proper filiation, by the Chaldee paraphrasts, who are the oracles of the Jewish nation.*

* It is, I believe, uniformly true, that texts of scripture, which speak

From these two facts it would follow, that where we see ‘Son of God’ used continually of a person claiming to be, believed to be, or denied to be the expected Jewish Messiah, we ought not to give it a literal meaning, and thereby make it incompatible with the *expected character* of the person of whom it is the attribute. But it is more directly to the purpose to say, that from comparing several passages together where our Saviour is called Son of God, we may collect the proof that this phrase, when used *καὶ ἐγώ*, is synonymous with Messiah. The confession of Nathanael “Rabbi thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel” may be compared with Mark xi. 22. “Let the King of Israel come down from the cross.” There is also a singularity in Nathanael’s speech, which may help us to its meaning—he prefixes to it the title of Rabbi, doctor. Shall we suppose that he meant to connect those heterogenous ideas, which would be brought together in his confession as some will understand it:—“Doctor, thou art of God’s substance as begotten of him?” Mary at the grave of her brother says, “Yea, Lord I believe that thou art the Messiah, the Son of God *which should come into the world*” which may be compared with what our Saviour said, when he went to raise Lazarus. “This sickness is not unto death, but unto the glory of God, that the Son of God might be glorified thereby.” This miracle might indeed attest the character of our Lord, as the Saviour sent by God, but could not I suppose cast much light on the mystery of his proper generation, and of his literal descent from our heavenly father. We may compare the accounts respectively given of Peter’s confession by three of the evangelists. Matthew has it “Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God.” Luke says ix. 20. “thou art the Messiah of God,” while Mark, whose gospel was according to the tradition

of the filial relationship to God, are explained conformably to the principles of this essay, by the Chaldee paraphrases. Of this, many instances may be brought. The text in the second Psalm is a striking one: “thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee” is paraphrased “Beloved, *as a child to his father*, thou art pure to me, *as if I had this day created thee*.” Targ. Jonathan.

tion of the church revised and approved by St. Peter, merely says "thou art the Messiah." Surely we cannot suppose that Mark and Luke would strip St. Peter's confession of its most splendid acknowledgement, and forget that he called our Saviour the offspring of God, had they understood this phrase as do its literal interpreters. Of the text, Acts viii. 37. in which the Egyptian Eunuch is made to express his belief that "Jesus Christ is the Son of God," it is sufficient to say, that Griesbach has removed it from the text. We have not time to examine every text to the purpose in the Evangelists, and the historian of the apostles, but it is believed that the most rigorous scrutiny would justify the assertion, that Jesus Christ, when called *τον θεον* the Son of God, is called so only as the Messiah. This it is thought would appear from the examination of the language and reasonings of the Evangelists, and of the apostles; it also appears from the following considerations: St. John says "these things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Messiah the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name." Here the believing Jesus to be the Son of God seems to be made the previous condition of having life through his name. Again, "he that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life, and he that believeth *not* the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him." Now is it probable, nay, is it credible, or even possible, that the indispensable condition of salvation is a belief in the metaphysical notion of Christ's generation by God, a notion, which in fact violates our usual conceptions of the divine nature, and in expression the analogies of language? But besides the strangeness of this proposition what connexion can we suppose it has with the conditions of salvation? Must an honest Athanasian be lost, because he cannot conceive that his Saviour is the progeny of God, or must the conscientious Unitarian perish, because he cannot find in scripture that any thing is said of a Son of God, who is "of his substance as begotten of him?" Besides, to use the ideas of the excellent Dr. Watts upon this subject, what shall become of those poor ignorant creatures, whose minds cannot grasp the idea of a Son.

begotten of one being, and he a being who has neither master nor figure? Whatever hope there might be for those, who happily have acuteness enough of intellect to manage the difficulties of this hypothesis; we shut out of the straight gate those immensely larger numbers, who are placed by their Maker under the disadvantages of ignorance or incapacity. If the condition of salvation is the believing a truth, than which a more abstruse one can hardly be imagined, then is our gospel a gospel for metaphysicians, philosophers, and geniuses, while the poor to whom it was peculiarly to be preached are of all men most miserable: since the indispensable terms of salvation involve the niceties of spiritual existence, and the difficulties of immaterial substances, when spoken of in material capacities. Yet besides this improbability, that the wrath of God should abide on him, who may not happen to think that he, who was "made of a woman" is of "God's substance as begotten of him," we are told by the apostle John 4 Epis. v. 1. "Whoso believeth Jesus is the Messiah, is born* of God." This it seems it is, which is the condition of salvation, to believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the predicted and commissioned Saviour of the world. This it requires no learning to understand, no philosophy to conceive, no acuteness to explain; and as it is likewise the foundation of the Christian faith, what better could be devised for the condition of salvation.

But it may be said that the notion of a Son of God is not so difficult, as here represented, that the idea of God is the

* A most important proof that this interpretation of "Son of God" is correct arises from a comparison of this text with the fourth and fifth of the same chapter. This text saith, "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Messiah *is born of God.*" The fourth verse declares, "Whatever is born of God overcometh the world;" and the fifth immediately asks, "who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is THE SON OF GOD?"—The proof of our interpretation is stated here by St John, with the precision of a syllogism. We are told also in the eighteenth and nineteenth verses what it is in general to be sons of God. "We know that whatsoever is born of God; *sinneth not;* but he, that is begotten of God, *keepeth himself;*—and we know that we are of God."

most obvious one in religion, and the idea of Son one of the most obvious in common life, and accordingly that the union of them cannot produce so incomprehensible a proposition as has been suggested. But still, however easy the notion of a progeny of God may be, it is utterly irrelevant as a condition of salvation, for we want to know, not the high relations between God and Jesus Christ, but the relation of ourselves to the one and the other. Yet there is a deception in representing the proposition, which we are considering, as composed of very obvious ideas. The ideas, it is true, are obvious, but it is equally true that they are mutually incompatible. Is it indeed so easy to conceive of an immaterial being partitioning his substance, and producing a proper son, or if the father's substance be not partitioned, that the son can be of the father's substance: that a perfect being should beget an imperfect being, or if the son be perfect, that there should be two perfect beings: that he who is immutable, should generate a sharer of his nature? Are these such extremely simple conceptions as to be made the indispensable conditions of salvation, so that those, whose minds refuse to embrace them, are subject to the abiding of the wrath of God?

This is all, which can here be said to show that 'Son of God' is a synonymous title with Messiah.

With respect to the frequency with which our Saviour is called the Son of God, it is partly accounted for by what has been already said: viz. that this title expressed his most important character of Messiah. Another reason is that he possessed in his personal character, more than any other, those qualities, for which others are called sons of God. If Paul could say "for as many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God," doubtless he to whom God "giveth not the spirit by measure," would be more especially dignified with this glorious title. Some indeed have inferred from the greater frequency with which Christ is called the Son of God, that he was so in a proper and higher sense, not in a greater degree. But how the frequency of the occurrence of any appellation can be the cause of an arithmetical incre-

ment of its import, is somewhat unintelligible. Should an historian delight to mention as the friend of his king, any particular person, who occurred in his history, it might well be inferred, that he was a very intimate friend of his sovereign, but it would be unsafe to conclude that he was his nephew or his cousin. So if Christ be very frequently called Son of God, we may properly infer that he was an object of especial favor with God, but have none the more foundation for supposing him to be his progeny. We may add that our Saviour is continually called Son of God in the historical books of the Evangelists, because these books are an account of his life and doctrines, and were expressly written to illustrate what he did and suffered. It could not therefore but happen that his name and his titles would oftener occur than those of any other person. That Christ therefore is very frequently called Son of God in these historical books, is in part to be accounted for by the consideration, that he is the leading character in the history of his own life and mission. It is not a fact that in the other scriptures he is more frequently so called, than the faithful of the Jewish or Christian church have the same title applied to them.

Indeed there is one objection to the idea that Christ was the proper offspring of God, which strikes us as unanswerable. Jesus Christ is expressly called *Son of Man* as often, nay oftener, than he is called Son of God. Now if his being called Son of God proves him to be the proper offspring of God, his being called Son of Man proves him to be the proper offspring of man. Especially when we add that it is very seldom, and in dubious circumstances, that *divine names*, works, and offices, appear to be attributed to him as to an original author; whereas the names, works, and offices, the actions and sufferings, the accidents and relations, of humanity are attributed to him upon every occasion and opportunity, in every form of language, and in every variety of connexion, from that early page of scripture, which declares, “the Lord thy God will raise up a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, *LIKE UNTO ME,*” to that last column of the apostle, where it is said, “for

I am thy *fellow servant*, of thy brethren the prophets;—through every vision of his advent, every history of his life, every circumstance of his sufferings and death. What may be thought the notices of his divinity shoot about through the scriptures, like the infrequent meteors of a summer's night, disconnected with the systems, and irrelevant to its great design; while the declarations of his humanity are as thick as the stars of heaven, fixed in the arch, sources of light and centres of motion, covering the hemisphere to the naked eye, and multiplying to infinity as the search is extended, assisted, and continued.

Let it be permitted us to add a few words to what has been incidentally said of the irrationality of the notion of an offspring of God.

It is said by the advocates of a literal interpretation of the title “Son of God,” when applied to our Saviour, that, as Son of God, he is a divine being, and endued with proper divine powers, yet that he is by no means equal, much less identical with God: though from his high character, he may be called God, in a subordinate sense. But if this scheme be consistent with itself, which is its boast, does it not indeed require, that Christ be absolutely and unquestionably equal with God? Is not a son absolutely, entirely, and perfectly a being of equal nature to his father; endowed with every natural capacity, and possessing every natural power, which his father possessed? After we have said of a man, that he derives his existence from his father, is it added that he owes to his father's voluntary gift his understanding and his corporal strength, his capacity of mind and force of limbs? Does not his descent from his father involve in it, even in idea, all these and every other circumstance of entire equality? And are they not all of them, in their unlimited extent, as perfectly the constitutional parts of the son as of the father? Is not an inequality in them accidental, and the equality natural; the son as often surpassing the father in them, as the father surpassing the son? How then, when we read in scripture, upon every turn and every page, that Christ owes his power, knowledge, and dignity to the voluntary gift and continual

energy of God, can we indulge an hypothesis, which would make him the possessor of all this power, dignity, and knowledge by his very constitution and nature? When we speak of God's giving his spirit without measure to his Son, we imply that he might have withholden this gift, had it pleased him. How then shall we defend a scheme, by which, in his very essence and substance, and by tenure of birth, our Saviour must have been endowed with this blessed spirit?

It is said by the friends of the scheme which we are considering, "that Christ is of God's nature as begotten of him, because," it is added, "the Son is necessarily of the same nature as the Father." And true it is, the Son is of the very same nature as the Father, all the difference between them being either accidental or of political economy, and every capacity of the latter descending by generation to the former. And the laws of nature have even made it impossible for the human species to bring forth quadrupeds, for quadrupeds to beget birds, or birds insects. Every offspring is, and must be, of the same nature, and same natural powers, as its parent. Yet in the face of all this, we are told, and by Christians who wrestle for plain meanings and proper analogies, that an *eternal* God hath a Son, to whom he said "*this day* have I begotten thee;" that an *omniscient* God hath a Son, who *knows not* the day nor the hour of judgment; that an *omnipotent* God hath a Son, who *can of himself do nothing*; that an *omnipresent* God hath a Son, who *had not where to lay his head*; that an *immutable* God hath a Son, who *was humbled and exalted*; that the essentially happy Jehovah hath a Son, who cried in agony, "*My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!*"

The idea therefore of generation resolves itself, in this connexion, it is believed, into simple creation, for that a self-existent God should have a dependently existent Son, especially when proposed with a view of adhering to strict significations and natural analogies, is to us no better than absurdity in terms. For if language has any meaning and consistency any obligation, the analogy of the filial relation will make the Son to be as much a God as his Father, even as Isaac is as much a man as Abraham.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONTROVERSY
BETWEEN DR. PRIESTLEY AND DR. HORSLEY, THE MONTHLY
REVIEWER, AND OTHERS.

Continued from p. 38.

In the progress of the controversy, we come now to a distinct class of arguments in proof of the unitarianism of the ancient *Gentile church*, and to the objections which are made to these arguments. It must be remembered that the rudiments of the doctrine of the trinity, according to Dr. Priestley, were introduced, about the time of Justin Martyr, by some of the more learned Christian converts who had been educated in the Platonic philosophy. Before that time he maintains that the whole church was unitarian. He endeavours to prove (as we have shewn) that the great body of the Jewish Christians always continued such. The Gentile Christians, according to him, gradually and slowly adopted the opinions of the more learned of their number. In the part of the controversy of which I am about to give an account he maintains, that the strongest presumptions and the most direct positive evidence show, that long after the time of Justin Martyr, while opinions that were afterwards formed into the present orthodox doctrine of the trinity were introducing, the great majority of gentile Christians still retained what he considers the primitive faith, and had no other belief than that of the simple humanity of our Saviour. The evidence of this fact, as far as I am now about to explain it, he derives from writers who were contemporary with the state of things of which they speak. He derives it however not from unitarian writers; for it is almost needless to observe that none of this character, either controversialists or historians, have come down to us from whom he could receive any assistance; but he brings this evidence from the works of men who were themselves supporters of the trinitarian doctrine as it at first existed, and who viewed with contempt and aversion what he conceives to have been the vulgar and obvious belief of the simple human-

ity of our Saviour. From the writings of these men he produces passages, in some of which he thinks it is clearly implied and in others directly asserted, that the majority of Christians did not receive the opinions which these writers maintained, but either neglected them altogether, or regarded them with strong dislike. If the state of things was such as Dr. Priestley supposes; if the trinitarian doctrine was gradually introduced by men accustomed to indulge in philosophical fancies, for we can hardly say philosophical speculations, it may perhaps be reasonable to expect to find some such passages in their writings, to find some notices of the prevalence of opinions contrary to their own. It is obvious however, that if such passages can be produced, they are the most satisfactory of all evidence in support of what Dr. Priestley maintains. These passages are not the suspicious assertions, or the doubtful testimonies of friends of the unitarian doctrine; they are the unwilling recognitions and acknowledgments of its adversaries. From their force therefore no deduction is to be made; they are to be received in the full extent of their meaning.

We shall proceed to state the passages that Dr. Priestley has produced in the order of time of the Fathers by whom they were written. Next after the apostolic Fathers, whom I have formerly mentioned, the earliest Christian writer whose works have come down to us is Justin Martyr. He was, according to Dr. Priestley, the first, or one of the first of those who advanced the doctrine of the preexistence and divinity of Christ as the Logos of God. From his writings Dr. Priestley thinks it may be inferred that this doctrine was novel and not generally received. In proof of this he appeals to a part of his 'dialogue with Trypho,' (written about A. D. 140) which is an account of a controversy that Justin relates himself to have held with Trypho a Jew in defence of the truth of Christianity. The passage referred to is the beginning of a part of the dialogue in which he maintains his favorite doctrine. It is the first in order of time, but, from the ambiguity of its construction, and from some other circumstances, whatever force may be allowed it, concerning which there will undoubt-

edly be much difference of opinion, it will not, I think, be considered as one of the most powerful produced by Dr. Priestley.

"Justin," says Dr. Priestley, "represents Trypho as saying, concerning the doctrine of the incarnation, 'it is so extraordinary that it can never be proved. That this Christ was a God, existing before the ages, and then born a man, is not only extraordinary, but ridiculous. To this I answered, I knew that this doctrine appears strange, and especially to those of your race,' that is to the Jews. It is evident," says Dr. Priestley, "from this passage, that Justin thought that this doctrine would appear strange to others, besides the Jews; and as he proceeds, it will appear that he took care not to lay too much stress on this new doctrine, lest he should not be able to prove it satisfactorily."

After the preceding passage Justin further replies, that if he should not be able to maintain this doctrine—"It will be right to say, that in this only I have been mistaken, and not that he is not the Christ, though he should appear to be a man born as other men are, and to be made Christ by election. For there are some of our race, who acknowledge him to be Christ, but hold that he was a man born like other men. With them I do not agree, nor should I do so, though ever so many, being of the same opinion, should urge it upon me; because we are commanded by Christ himself, not to obey the teachings of men, but what was taught by the holy prophets and himself." Trypho then replies, that those who believe that he was a man born like other men seem to him to hold an opinion much more credible than that of Justin, for that all the Jews expect only such a person as their Messiah.*

The whole of this passage, according to Dr. Priestley, is written in the language of a man who was sensible that he was advancing a novel opinion. He intimates some degree of doubt respecting it, and says that if he should not be able to support it, the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, the Messiahship of Christ, might still be maintained. In the sub-

* Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 14. Hist. of the Corruptions, P. i. c. 1. Justin. Op. pp. 233—236. Edit. Thirlb.

sequent part of the dialogue, as well as in his writings in general, he *labors* the proof of it, "shewing that it is consonant to the principles of Platonism, and also deducible from the writings of Moses, and other parts of the Jewish scriptures, without referring to any other writer in support of what he advances." His language is very different from that of the opposers of the unitarian doctrine among the later fathers and in modern times. He uses no acrimonious expressions with regard to those who differed from him, but writes on the contrary with great moderation. He speaks of not being overborne by the authority of numbers. "He indeed," says Dr. Priestley, "calls the unitarians *some*, as if they were the minority; but the term is indefinite, and may apply to the majority; and from the complexion of the whole passage, I have no doubt but that Justin was aware that it was so, and that, with a view to this, he added, that he should not be influenced by that consideration." It may be noticed likewise, that those whom Justin calls 'some' were such as not merely held the simple humanity of Christ, but who likewise denied the miraculous conception, and believed him a man born as other men.

The controversy respecting this passage of Justin was chiefly carried on with Dr. Priestley by the Monthly Reviewer, nothing of importance being said with regard to it by Dr. Hersley. In reply to what has been stated, it is said by the Reviewer, that the most important part of the passage is wrongly translated by Dr. Priestley. "It ought," he says, "to be translated thus: 'There are some of our profession who acknowledge him to be Christ, and yet maintain that he was a man; born in the natural way; to whom I could not yield my assent; no, not even if the majority of Christians should think the same; because we are commanded by Christ himself not to rely on human doctrines, but to receive those which were published by the blessed prophets, and which he himself taught us.' Doth this," says the Reviewer, "look like an apology for departing from a generally received opinion? Doth it not bear an aspect the very reverse? According to this representation of the passage, the antithesis lies between the *some* and the *majority*, the minority and the ma-

jerity of the same general profession. But according to Dr. Priestley's construction ~~one~~ and ~~another~~ must mean the same persons, and both must denote the bulk or generality of Christian professors."* The translation of the Reviewer does not appear to me to be essentially different from that of Dr. Priestley. In his review of Dr. Priestley's reply to his former criticisms he translates again the controverted part of the passage thus: "With whom I do not agree, neither could I, although the major part had adopted the same opinion."†

With regard to Justin's saying, that if he should not be able to prove our Saviour to have preexisted as God, it still will not follow that he is not the Messiah, which Dr. Priestley understands as implying some doubt of the first opinion, the Reviewer and Jamieson affirm; that this is nothing more than his securing to himself what he conceives proved, before proceeding to a new argument; and they maintain that analogous passages may be found in his writings.

It is the remark of Dr. Priestley, that Justin labors to prove, that his doctrine of the preexistence of Christ is consonant to the principles of Platonism, and may be inferred from the Jewish Scriptures, without referring to any other writings. With respect to this latter circumstance, it is answered by Jamieson, that in disputing with a Jew, Justin could not with propriety refer to any other writings, especially not to the Christian Scriptures, or to the writings of early Christians.

The moderation of Justin in speaking of the unitarians is noticed by his commentator Thirlby, as well as by Dr. Priestley. Thirlby thinks it strange that Justin did not express in more forcible language his dissent from their opinions, which without doubt he considered as detestable and pernicious. He accounts for it by supposing that he was desirous not to offend the Jew with whom he was disputing, and to blast his incipient conversion, by expressing strong dislike to those opinions to which Trypho, from his previous belief, would be most inclined, and in which perhaps, if in no higher notions of Christ, he might be induced to acquiesce.

* Monthly Review, vol. lxviii. p. 522.

† Vol. lxix. p. 239.

Justin, according to Dr. Priestley, speaks of not being overborne by the authority of numbers. He, as will be recollect-ed, renders a part of the passage of Justin thus—"With whom [that is with those who believe Christ a man born like other men] I do not agree, nor should I do so, though ever so many, being of the same opinion, should urge it upon me." Different translations however of the words in question have been given, by which, if correct, the remark of Dr. Priestley is set aside. According to one of them, Justin says, that neither he, nor the majority who thought with him agreed with those who considered Christ as a man born like other men—"With whom I do not agree, nor would the majority who think with me say so." This translation may perhaps be thought not to connect itself so naturally as that of Dr. Priestley with the words that immediately follow; "since we are commanded by Christ himself not to obey the teachings of men, but what was taught by the holy prophets and himself." According to another translation however the words of Justin are thus rendered—"With whom I do not agree, nor should I, if the majority who think with me should say so." In both these translations Justin asserts that the majority were of the same opinion with himself; and this meaning is thought to be confirmed by a part of the reply of Trypho, who says—"those who maintain that he was a man, and anointed by election, and made Christ, seem to me to say something more credible than you;" i. e. as it is under-stood—"your party"—"who assert the same which thou dost." [τούτων δια την ταῦτα πεις δοξάσσεις είπεν.] in which words of Trypho there is thought to be a reference to the former expression of Justin—πλειονεσσι μη δοξάσσεις.]*

* The original of that part of the passage in Justin, concerning the translation of which there is any dispute, is as follows—εἰς οὐ κυριεύεις, οὐ αὐ τλεῖται ταῦτα μη δοξάσσεις είπεν. There are four principal modes of translating these words.—

1. That given by Perionius, (who published a Latin translation of Justin in 1554,) by Languis, (who published one in 1565,) and since adopted by Bishop Bull and others, which is as follows—quibus ego minime assentior. Neque sane plerique eadem sentientes illud dixerint.

"I am no doubt," says Dr. Priestley, "influenced in my construction of this particular passage by the persuasion that I have, from other independent evidence, that the unitarians

Vide Bull De necessitate credendi, and the note in the Paris edition of Justin, Mart. 1742.

2. That which is given and defended by the Paris editor of 1742, which is as follows—*quibus ego non assentior, nec assentirer etiamsi maxima pars quæ mecum consentit idem diceret.* This mode of translation is adopted by the Monthly Reviewer in the review of the "Remarks in Vindication of Dr. Priestley," though he had formerly given two different renderings, as I have mentioned in the text. [See Rev. vol. lix. pp. 314, 315.] It is adopted likewise by Mr. Belsham, who supposes however that Justin, in the words *ταῦτα μη δοξασθεῖς*, refers merely to the belief of the miraculous conception then common among the Gentle Christians. [See his Scrip. Doct. concerning the Pers. of Christ, pp. 405, 406. note.]

3. Thirlby in his edition gives the translation of Langus, which he sometimes corrects, but has not altered in the present passage. Its rendering in the present passage has been already mentioned. In a note however, Thirlby proposes the following translation—*quibus ego non assentior, neque etiamsi multo plures essent, assentirer.* This is similar to that of Galenius, one of the earliest translators of Justin, (A.D. 1555) who renders *quibus non assentio nec si maxima quidem esset turba sic opinantium.* These, it will be seen, are more concise, but essentially the same with that of Dr. Priestley—"With whom I do not agree, neither should I, though ever so many, being of the same opinion, shold urge it upon me." Thirlby observes, that his translation connects itself very well with what follows—"because we are commanded by Christ himself not to obey the teachings of men, but what was taught by the holy prophets and himself;" and he produces the following passage of Plato as an example of a similar construction—*καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς οὐκτοτέρος ποιεῖται.* De Rep. p. 426.

4. The author of the remarks in vindication of Dr. Priestley, (mentioned in the Repository vol. i. p. 27.) whom I find to have been Mr Cappe, (see Mr. Belsham's work ubi sup.) gives the following translation:—"to whom I do not assent, although the greater part may have told me that they had [or have] been of the same opinion." Mr. Cappe considers *δοξασθεῖς οὐκτοτέρος* as equivalent *ταῦτα δοξασθεῖς οὐκτοτέρος*. And he contends that the words of the passage properly express, that the majority of Christians held opinions different from those of the writer. I am acquainted with his work principally from the review of it before men-

were in fact the majority of Christians in the time of Justin; that he therefore knew this to be the case, and could not mean to insinuate the contrary. Another person, having a different persuasion concerning the state of opinions in that age, will naturally be inclined to put a different construction upon this passage. In this case I only wish that he would suspend his judgment till he has attended to my other arguments, and afterwards he may perhaps see this passage in the same light in which I do.”*

But whatever construction may be given to particular parts of it, Dr. Priestley thinks there is such a difference in the general air of the passage, in its freedom from all injurious and acrimonious expressions respecting the unitarians, and in the kind of importance attributed to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, from the language and sentiments of those who have written when this doctrine has been generally prevalent, that one may from these circumstances infer, that it was not thus generally prevalent, but on the contrary, a novel doctrine in the time of Justin.

THE next writer from whom Dr. Priestley quotes is Tertullian, and the passage produced from him is a very remarkable one. “Nothing,” says Dr. Priestley, “can be more decisive than the evidence of Tertullian, who, in the following passage, which is too plain and circumstantial to be misquoted, where may be found the criticisms by which he has supported his translation, and the answers of the reviewer.

It should be mentioned in addition to the above, that Bishop Bull, in his work *De necessitate credendi*, conjectures, that instead of the present reading *μετέρη* in this passage of Justin, according to which Justin says that there are some of *our* race—who believe that Christ is only a man born like other men, the true reading is *ὑπέρτη*, of *your* race, and that Justin refers only to the Ebionites, who as Jews were of the same race with Trypho. This however is the reading of neither of the two manuscripts of Justin which are extant.

* First Letters to Dr. Horsley, Postscript § vi. Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 14.

derstood by any person, positively asserts, though with much peevishness, that the unitarians, who held the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in abhorrence, were the greater part of Christians in his time."

'The simple, the ignorant, and unlearned, who are always the greater part of the body of Christians, since the rule of faith,' (meaning, probably, the apostles' creed,) 'transfers the worship of many gods to the one true God, not understanding that the unity of God is to be maintained but with the economy, dread this economy; imagining that this number and disposition of a trinity is a division of the unity. They, therefore, will have it that we are worshippers of two, and even three Gods, but that they are the worshippers of one God only. We, they say, hold the monarchy. Even the Latins have learned to bawl out for the monarchy, and the Greeks themselves will not understand the economy.'"

As this passage will appear to every reader of no small importance, I will give, without abridgement, the whole which Dr. Horsley says concerning it in his Letters to Dr. Priestley:—

"But you think," says he, "if Justin Martyr and Hegesippus fail, you have still the positive testimony of Tertullian to oppose to my conclusions from the faith of the first Christians. Tertullian, who was little younger than Justin, complains that in his time the unitarian doctrine was the general persuasion.

* "Simplices enim quippe, ne dixerim imprudentes et idiotæ, que major semper credentium pars est, quoniam et ipsa regula fidei a pluribus diis seculi, ad unicum et deum verum transfert; non intelligentes unicum quidem, sed cum sua œconomia esse credendum, expavescunt ad œconomiam. Numerum et dispositionem trinitatis, divisionem præsumunt unitatis; quando unitas ex semetipsa derivans trinitatem, non destruatur ab illa, sed administretur. Itaque duos et tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari, se vero unius dei cultores præsumunt.—Quasi non et unitas inrationabiliter collecta, hæresim faciat; trinitas rationaliter expensa, veritatem constitutat. Monarchiam, inquiunt, tenemus. Et ita sonum vocaliter exprimit etiam Latini, etiam opici, ut putas illos tam bene intelligere monarchiam, quam enunciant. Sed monarchiam sonare student Latini, œconomiam intelligere nolunt etiam Græci." Ad Præream, sect. 3. p. 502. History of Early Opinions, B. iii. c. 13, sec. 2. History of the Corruptions, P. i. sect. 4.

‘The simple, the ignorant, and the unlearned, who are always a great part of the body of Christians, because the rule of faith transfers their worship of many gods to the one true God, not understanding that the unity of God is to be maintained, but with the economy, dread this economy.’ I must confess, Sir, here seems to be a complaint against the unlearned Christians as in general unfavorable to the trinitarian doctrine. But the complaint is of your own raising. Tertullian will vouch but for a very small part of it. ‘Simple persons, says Tertullian (not to call them ignorant and idiots) who always make the majority of believers, because the rule of faith itself carries us away from the many gods of the heathen to the one true God, not understanding that one God is indeed to be believed, but with an economy (or arrangement) of the Godhead, startle at the economy. They take it for granted, that the number and disposition of the trinity is a division of the unity. They pretend that two, and even three are preached by us, and imagine that they themselves are the worshippers of one God. We, they say, hold the monarchy. Latins have caught up the word *monarchia*, Greeks will not understand *economia*.’ Let the author’s words be thus exactly rendered, and you will find in them neither complaint, nor acknowledgment, of a general prevalence of the unitarian doctrine among Christians of any rank. Tertullian alleges, that what credit it obtained was only with the illiterate; nor with all the illiterate, but with those only, who were ignorant and stupid in the extreme. To preclude the plea of numbers, he remarks that the illiterate will always make the majority of believers. ‘Some simple people, he says, take alarm at the notion of a plurality of persons in the unity of the Godhead. Simple people, said I! I should have said, ignorant and dull; who have never been made to comprehend the true sense of the apostles’ creed; which speaks of one God, in opposition only to a plurality of independent gods worshipped by the heathen, without any respect to the metaphysical unity of the Deity. When it is considered, that persons of mean endowments must always be the majority of a body, collected, as the

church is, from all ranks of men; it were no wonder, if the followers of the unitarian preachers were more numerous than they really are.' This, Sir, is the natural exposition of the passage, which you cite as Tertullian's testimony of the popularity of your favorite opinions in his own time. It is no such testimony. It is a charge of ignorance against your party; of such ignorance as would invalidate the plea of numbers, if that plea could be set up. The argument, which you build upon the rank and condition of Tertullian's unitarians, who were common or unlearned people, can be of no force, unless it could be proved, that the unitarian opinion was general in this rank of Christians. The common people, who will be the last to depart from the opinions of their ancestors, when they are left to themselves, will on the other hand be the first to be staggered with difficulties, and, for that reason, the first to be misled. Whatever therefore might be the novelty of the unitarian doctrine in the age of Tertullian, it is no wonder that it should find admirers among the most ignorant and stupid of the common people.

" You must search, Sir, for some clearer testimony, than any that is to be found in Tertullian, Justin Martyr, or the few surviving fragments of Hegesippus, to oppose to my proof from the epistle of St. Barnabas."^{*}

Dr. Horsley's translation is not essentially different from that of Dr. Priestley, though he has endeavoured to give it somewhat of a different air, and in doing this has in some respects translated with less correctness. *Simplices*, for instance, is more properly rendered 'the simple,' than 'simple persons;' especially if the latter phrase can be supposed to admit the construction afterward put upon it by Dr. Horsley, where he understands it as meaning *some* simple people. It is *simplices*, the simple, who are spoken of, that is generally, 'all the simple,' according to the rule that indefinite propositions are to be taken universally, and according to the common use of such adjectives in the Latin language. Indeed, every reader, whether acquainted with the language in which

* Letters to Dr. Priestley, Letter 9.

Tertullian wrote or not, is capable of judging on this subject; and may determine, whether it be probable that this father so expressed himself, as to convey the following singular meaning: "Some simple people, who are always the majority of believers, not understanding," &c. In the last sentence of Dr. Horsley's translation it should have been likewise 'the Latins' and 'the Greeks,' rather than simply 'Latins' and 'Greeks.' That the word *idiota* in Latin answers to our English word *idiot*, as Dr. Horsley has rendered it, few will maintain; nor do the terms *imprudentes et idiota*, taken together, mean any thing like "ignorant and stupid in the extreme." Dr. Horsley has greatly misrepresented the force of the epithets of Tertullian, which are in fact sufficiently mild, especially if we consider the usual harsh and abusive language of the fathers toward those who differed from them. It is however of very little importance to settle, what it is not very probable was settled in the mind of Tertullian himself, the exact meaning of the epithets used by this angry controversialist. The character of the opponents of a theological disputant is not in all cases just what he describes it; and to get correct notions concerning them, we have often something more to do, than to settle the precise force of his epithets.

It cannot be kept out of sight, that the language which Tertullian may have used concerning his opponents is a point of minor importance, and that the main question is, what he has stated to be their numbers. With respect to this, Dr. Horsley therefore, in direct and indirect language, repeatedly affirms, that this passage of Tertullian is no testimony that the unitarians constituted in his day even a great portion of believers. He makes this assertion with the original, and with his own translation before the reader, and he makes it without explanation or argument. According to Dr. Horsley's translation, it is of simple persons, who always make the majority of believers, that Tertullian is speaking. According to Dr. Horsley's assertions, it is not of the majority of believers that Tertullian is speaking. Though this father says, that the simple, who are always the greater part of Christians,

were shocked at the doctrine of the trinity (not ‘startled at’ it, as Dr. Horsley translates, for the word in the original is *expavescunt*,) though he says that they claimed to be the only worshippers of ONE God, affirming that two or even three gods were taught by him, and those who thought with him, and though he further tells us, that the Latins had caught up the word *monarchy*, in reference to the supreme dominion of God, the Father of all, and that the Greeks would not understand the economy, or what in his time passed for the doctrine of the trinity, still according to Dr. Horsley this passage affords no evidence of what Dr. Priestley is maintaining. It is no such testimony as he had supposed and represented. It is merely a charge of ignorance against his party, and expresses nothing concerning their numbers.

Not however trusting entirely to his powers of assertion, Dr. Horsley has recourse at last to his favorite authority, the spurious epistle of Barnabas—spurious according to his own acknowledgment.* Here we have before seen him take shelter in time of trouble.† In this fortress at least he thinks himself secure, and even formidable.

To the passage which I have quoted from him, it is wholly unnecessary to produce the reply of his opponent. It is a passage which exposes its author to a charge, somewhat worse than that of being weak in his reasoning, and insolent in his language.‡

* See the passage quoted from him, Repository, vol. i. p. 46.

† See Repository, vol. ii. p. 14, and p. 18. With regard to the authority of the epistle of Barnabas, see vol. i. pp. 46, 47, 53—57.

‡ Dr. Horsley, in the second of his Supplemental Disquisitions, treats again of this passage of Tertullian. This Disquisition is principally occupied about the meanings of the word *idiota*, of which he enumerates ten; and in defending his translation of it, for which use of the word however he produces the authority of no ancient writer. In the seventh of his Second Letters, Dr. Priestley had thus written: “ You say that I consult only *ordinary lexicons*. Pray, Sir, in what *lexicon* or *dictionary*, ordinary or extraordinary, do you find *idiota*, in Latin or ~~grecus~~ in Greek, rendered *idiot*? ” In answer to this, Dr. Horsley commences his search, and produces, as he thinks, five vocabularies which are

The remarks of the Monthly Reviewer however, concerning the quotation from Tertullian, are not more respectable than those of Dr. Horsley.

to his purpose; viz. 1. an old glossary, published by H. Stephens in the appendix to his Greek Thesaurus (which explains *idiota* by the words *é μη γνωστός*—) 2. R. Stephens' Dictionarium Latino Gallicum. 3. Calepini's Dictionarium Octolingue. 4. Cooper's Thesaurus. 5. Ainsworth's Dictionary. I believe there are very few who will at present attempt to defend Dr. Horsley's translation of *idiota*. With regard to the true meaning of the word, Dr. Priestley (in a note to the second of his Letters to the Dean of Canterbury) thus writes: "If any authority could be wanting in support of my interpretation of the word *idiota*, I might quote that of the famous Bentley, whose learning will hardly be called in question by Dr. Horsley himself. In his remarks on a work intitled, *A discourse on Free-thinking*, p. 118, he expresses himself in the following manner with respect to that very translation of this word, which Dr. Horsley adopted, and Mr. Badcock defends.

" 'Ab *Idiotis Evangelistis*, By *idiot evangelists*, says our author; who, if he is sincere in this version, proves himself a very *idiot* in the Greek and Latin acceptation of that word. *Idiota*; *illiteratus*, *indoctus*, *rudis*. See Du Fresne in his Glossaries, who takes notice that *idiota* for an *idiot*, or *natural fool*, is peculiar to your English law, for which he cites Rostal. Did Victor therefore mean *idiot evangelists* in your English sense? No, but *illiterate*, *unlearned*. What then must we think of our author for his scandalous translation here. Whether imputation will he chuse to lie under, that he knew the meaning of Victor, or that he knew it not?'

Dr. Horsley in this disquisition makes some further general remarks upon the passage of Tertullian. He defends the representation which he had given of it in his Letters, as merely containing a charge of gross ignorance against the unitarians in the time of Tertullian, and giving us no information in respect to their numbers:—"And that this," he says, "is the true representation of Tertullian's meaning, may be proved, without insisting upon any particular force of the word *idiota*, from the necessary indisputable sense of the adverb *sempre*, which extends Tertullian's proposition, concerning the majority of believers, from his own time in particular to all time. He says not what were, or what were not, the prevailing opinions of his own times; but he says, that those persons who come under the characters of *simplices*, *imprudentes*, and *idiotes* (that is, according to Dr. Priestley's own translation, which yet I admit not otherwise than *disputandi gratia*, for I have still 'the assurance' to

"Because," says the Reviewer, "Tertullian, in his reply to Praxeas, speaks of the common people—the *mere ignorant vulgar* (who, says he, contemptuously, *always* make up the bulk of believers!) as shocked at the doctrine of the trinity, which (unless upon the *patrilinear* scheme) evidently appeared to them to destroy the unity of the Deity, therefore Dr. Priestley would infer, that the majority of Christians in Tertullian's time believed in one God! We are perfectly of his

call my own an exact translation) but according to Dr. Priestley's own translation, Tertullian says, that persons, who come under the character of 'the simple, the ignorant, and the unlearned,' whatever their opinions at one time or another may be, are, in all times, the greater part of believers: as indeed they must be of every society collected indiscriminately, as the church is from all ranks of men. Tertullian alleges that persons of that description, in his time, meaning to assert, what they little understood, the Divine Monarchy, were startled at the doctrine of the trinity, which they as little understood. This is the only sense in which Tertullian's words can be taken; unless some unitarian adventurer in criticism shall be able to prove, that the adverb *semper* is equivalent to *nunc*, expressive of present time exclusively."

Tertullian says that the simple, the ignorant, and the unlearned are at all times the greater part of Christians. But we cannot infer from this that they were the greater part of believers in his own time. He uses the adverb *semper*, the meaning of which is indisputable, and this adverb extends Tertullian's proposition from his own time in particular to all time. He says, he intimates nothing respecting the majority of believers in his own time. He is only speaking of the sentiments and of the feelings of those who according to him compose the majority of believers in all times, not of those who composed this body in his own time; and until some unitarian adventurer in criticism, accustomed to the most impudent misrepresentation of the plainest meanings, and the most disgraceful misstatement of the plainest assertions, shall be able to prove that when a writer affirms that something is always the case, we may infer that it was the case in his own time, that *semper* 'always' includes *nunc* 'now,' and that all time comprehends the present time; till he be able satisfactorily to establish these points, the passage of Tertullian will remain only a monument of the disgrace of his party.

Another paragraph of Dr. Horsley follows that which I have quoted, in which he repeats his assertion that *simplices* means only *some* of the simple. The assertion has been already sufficiently noticed above.

opinion. . But will he infer from this concession of Tertullian (spoken so incidentally, so much in a fit of passionate disdain!) that the bulk of Christians believed that Jesus Christ was *nothing more than a mere man?* If he cannot prove this from it, he proves nothing that in the least affects our argument.”*

Tertullian, according to the Reviewer, says contemptuously, he says in a fit of passionate disdain, that his opponents constituted the bulk of believers. If this be so, Tertullian certainly chose the most singular mode of expressing his contempt, that any controversialist ever adopted. This Father says that the majority of believers were shocked at that form of the doctrine of the trinity which he maintained, a form of the doctrine in which a very inferior sort of divinity was ascribed to Christ; but Dr. Priestley, according to the Reviewer, can infer nothing from this, and indeed has attempted to infer nothing from it, but what the Reviewer is perfectly willing to concede, “that the majority of Christians in Tertullian’s time, believed in one God.” The concluding part indeed of what is quoted above implies, though it does not assert, that the majority of Christians, notwithstanding they rejected the doctrine of the trinity as it was in the time of Tertullian, might still not have believed that Christ was simply a man, but have held some other doctrine different from either. With regard to this objection, as stated to him by some of his friends, Dr. Priestley, in the appendix to his History of Early Opinions, makes the following remarks:—“If there was any evidence whatever, presumptive or positive, of any Christians in those ages believing the preexistence of Christ, and not believing either with the Gnostics that he was a preexistent spirit superior to the Creator of the world, or with the Platonizing Fathers, that he was the uncreated logos of the Father, the objection might have some weight. But there is no trace of any such thing, either among the learned or the unlearned.”

“As to the common people of Tertullian, and Origen, they certainly were not Gnostics, but of a character the very reverse of them, the one rude in their conceptions, and the other

* Monthly Review, vol. lxix. pp. 228, 229.

too refined. On the other hand, they certainly did not relish the notion of Christ being the uncreated *logos*; for that was part of the same system with the *economy* and *trinity*, at which they were so much shocked; and there is no mention whatever of any intermediate kind of preexistence, such as that of a created *logos*, till a much later period.”*

I will next notice the reply of the Rev. James Barnard (a catholic, and the author of a series of letters to Dr. Priestley, published in 1789,†) respecting this passage of Tertullian. He begins with saying that it might be sufficient to state that Tertullian being an heretic and out of the church, his testimony is not to be regarded. “To the quotation from Tertullian,” are his words, “I might say with St. Jerom in his book against Helvidius, *inter Epist. p. 10.* that *he is not of the church, Ecclesiæ hominem non esse*, and take no further notice of the three words you have repeatedly quoted from his book against Praxeas, which was certainly written after he had abandoned the communion of the apostolic churches, and embraced the heresy of the Montanists.” But though according to Mr. Barnard, the erroneous opinions of Tertullian have greatly diminished the credibility of his testimony, yet as he still continued orthodox on the doctrine of the trinity, Mr. Barnard says that he “shall not refuse to explain the true sense of his words.”

This explanation occupies several closely printed pages, but may however be stated somewhat briefly. It is, that “the simple,” whom Tertullian speaks of, “were not the ignorant and unlearned members of the orthodox church,” but heretics of different sects, not only the unlearned of these heretical sects, “but all, whether learned or unlearned, who held the simple doctrine of Praxeas,” that is, the unitarian doctrine.

After giving this explanation, he says, “Perhaps you will also ask, Does Tertullian then mean to say, that *the greater part of believers were heretics?*—Whether he did, or did not, I think is little to the present purpose. If he did mean to

* Hist. Earl. Opin. vol. iv. pp. 390, 391.

† See Repository, vol. i. p. 28. note.

say so, he alone is accountable for the truth, or falsity, of such an assertion. This I know for certain, that soon after the first propagation of Christianity, Satan sowed his tares in the field of Christ with the utmost profusion, and spared no pains to cultivate them, so as to endeavour to make them overpower and choak up the good corn. And as I do not know of any promise made in the scripture, that the body of true believers should be always more numerous than the aggregation of heretics of every denomination who call themselves by the name Christians; so I need not hesitate to acknowledge, that of those who *called themselves* by the name of Christians in Tertullian's days, the greater part might be *heretics* of some denomination or other.”*

Dr. Priestley replied to these letters in his Defences of unitarianism for the years 1788 and 1789. But as far as can be judged from the specimen I have given, I suppose it will be thought, that he had some reason for writing as he does respecting Mr. Barnard in his preface to these “defences.” “As to Dr. Knowles and Mr. Barnard, nothing but my promise to notice everything that should be advanced with respect to the argument from antiquity could have induced me to reply to them.” He adds however some expressions of respect for their attention to the subject and their candor.

We come next to Jamieson, who, with his usual laborious patience, has filled fourteen pages with his explanations and arguments. He sets out however with rather an amusing blunder, which makes what he considers an essential part of his explanation, and is repeatedly recurred to in the course of it. Tertullian, after claiming in favor of the doctrine which he defends, the authority of ~~prescription~~, says, that “notwithstanding for the instructing and fortifying some, tracts should be written (*dandus est locus retractatibus*), lest it should seem that any error is condemned without examination, or prejudged.” This unfortunate phrase, *dandus est locus retractatibus*, Jamieson understands as meaning, that an opportunity should be given for retracting; that is, to those who had embraced the

* See his Letters, pp. 293—300.

heresy of Præxæs; and supposes that Tertullian in the controverted passage is merely explaining the reason why this ought to be done. I do not think that one, who like myself may have read the greater part of the two volumes of Jamieson, (whatever opinion he may have of his fairness,) will suspect him here of any thing more than an honest blunder, though the phrase is explained by some of the commentators on Tertullian, and though, between the passage above quoted and the one in controversy, the word *retractatus* occurs again in a connexion that at once decides its meaning:—“How,” says Tertullian, “there is number in the divine nature without division the following tracts will show (procedentes retractatus demonstrabunt).”

Connected with this mistake of Jamieson is his main attempt to set aside the passage in Tertullian, which consists in proposing a new translation. Several pages before, Tertullian says, “the oats (*avenæ*) of Præxæs have borne fruit, many sleeping in simplicity of doctrine.” By “the simple” therefore in the present passage Jamieson supposes are meant those who had received the errors of Præxæs, and that instead of being the same with the unwise and unlearned (*imprudentes et idiotæ*) who always constitute the majority of Christians, they are on the contrary expressly distinguished from them. The only purpose of the present passage, according to him, is to assign the reason, why room should be left for retracting to these simple persons. “Thus,” he says, “the following seems to be the only translation of the passage, which agrees with the connexion; ‘For instructing and fortifying *some certain persons*, room must be every where left for retractions, &c. For the simple, indeed, (not to speak of the imprudent and unlearned, who are always the majority of Christians,*) since even the rule of faith transfers us from the many gods of this world, to the one true God; not understanding that we are indeed to believe in the one God, with his economy, are greatly afraid at the economy.’”† In explanation of this ren-

* “The parenthesis seems to be most naturally marked in this way according to the obvious sense of the passage.” Jamieson.

† Jamieson, vol. ii. p. 295.

dering he says—“the expression, *quae major semper credentium pars est*, [who are always the majority of believers,] which is our author’s strong-hold, so far from being added as implying that the majority were unitarians, seems designed to express the very contrary. It is as if he had said—‘when I speak of certain persons, to whom an opportunity must be given of retracting their errors, I refer to the simple, whom I have already described as sleeping in ignorance, and thence, a prey to the enemy. I do not mention the imprudent and unlearned; for in this case I should accuse the greatest part of Christians.’”*

As Jamieson has written so much concerning this passage, and in defence of his translation, it is scarcely possible to consider it as one of those oversights which a man of real learning may accidentally commit. But for one to attempt to give a new meaning to words so obviously intelligible as those of Tertullian, to make the parenthetical sentence which Jamieson has done, and in this sentence to suppose *imprudentes et idiotae* in the nominative case the objects of the verb *dixerim*, (which in any case they could not be to express the meaning of Jamieson,)† betrays some deficiencies which utterly unfit one for writing in such a controversy as this in which Jamieson has engaged.

It is not necessary, but it may be worth while, to notice that epithets so nearly synonymous as ‘imprudentes et idiotae,’ and ‘simplices,’ hardly admit of being used in contradistinction; and that there is another circumstance, which if the construction of the passage were at all ambiguous, which it is not, would alone perhaps be decisive of its meaning. It is, that Tertullian but a very few pages distance uses again this identical word ‘idiotae,’ which Jamieson here supposes him to apply to the bulk of believers to distinguish them from his opponents, and uses it as undoubtedly he does in the pres-

* Jamieson, vol. ii. p. 294.

† To express the meaning which Jamieson gives, the phrase in the original ought to be—“ut ómittam imprudentes et idiotas”—or—“ut de imprudentibus et idiotis nihil dicam,” or some one similar.

ent passage concerning those against whom he was writing—“Ecce enim dico alium esse patrem et alium filium et alium spiritum, male accipit idiotes quisque aut perversus hoc dictum, quasi diversitatem sonet, et ex diversitate separationem protendat, patris et filii et spiritus.” Adv. Prax. lib. i. § 9.

Such then are the attempts to set aside this passage of Tertullian. Dr. Horsley affirms that ‘the majority of believers’ means only “some persons ignorant and stupid in the extreme.” The Monthly Reviewer says Tertullian called his opponents, the bulk of believers, in a fit of passionate disdain, and that even if the majority of Christians did not believe the doctrine of the trinity, they might have believed something else equally adverse to the opinions of Dr. Priestley. Mr. Barnard after entering his *caveat* against the credibility of an heretic, and insinuating that no truth could have been expected from Tertullian after he became a Montanist, if he had not still remained a trinitarian, finally concludes to give up the majority of believers to Dr. Priestley, only maintaining that they were heretics and out of the church; and poor Jamieson in his attempts to manage this difficult passage blunders against the vulgar rules of syntax and construction. It will be seen however that these explanations are so inconsistent, that if any one of them be true the rest must be essentially false, and that they mutually destroy each other.

We come next to different passages from Origen. Origen, who, it may be recollectec, is one of the principal authorities, and the most decisive in proof of the unitarianism of the Jewish church, is, according to Dr. Priestley, equally clear in affirming the fact, that the majority of Gentile Christians were unitarians. Dr. Priestley introduces his quotations from him with the following remarks:—“That the common people among Christians were actually unitarians in the early ages, and believed nothing of the preexistence or divinity of Christ before the council of Nice, we have as express a testimony as can be desired in the case. These sublime doctrines were thought to be above their comprehension, and to be capable of being under-

sped and received by the learned only. This we see most clearly in the general strain of Origen's writings, who was himself a firm believer, and a zealous defender, of the preexistence and divinity of Christ.”*

The first passage which Dr. Priestley quotes from him is as follows:—“ ‘This,’ says Origen, ‘we ought to understand, that, as the law was a shadow of good things to come, so is the gospel as it is understood by the generality. But that which John calls the everlasting gospel, and which may be more properly called the spiritual, instructs the intelligent very clearly concerning the Son of God.—Wherefore the gospel must be taught both corporeally and spiritually, and when it is necessary, we must preach the corporeal gospel, saying to the carnal, we know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified. But when persons are found confirmed in the spirit, bringing forth fruit in it, and in love with heavenly wisdom, we must impart to them the logos returning from his bodily state, to that in which he was in the beginning with God.’ ”†

This passage, with some others which I am about quote, was produced by Dr. Priestley in his Second Letters to Dr. Horsley; but Dr. Horsley not having made any reply concerning them, I have only to offer the remarks of Jamieson. He first proposes a new translation of the beginning of the passage. It is as follows—“ As the law contains a shadow of good things to come, which are declared by the law truly explained,

* Hist. Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 13. sect. 2.

† “ Καὶ τέτο δε ἀδικιαὶ εὑρη, ὅτι ἀστικὲς οὐτε γορεὶς σκιαι περιγκυνοῦντα μελλονταὶ αἰχμαὶ ὡραὶ τοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀλεθινὸν καταγγελλόμενον εἴρουν διάλουμενοι; οὔτε καὶ εὐαγγελίους σκιαι μυστηρίου χριστοῦ διδάσκει, τοιούτους ὥστε πάντα ταῦτα εὐτομήσονταν οὐδεποτε. Οὐ δέ φασι Ιησοὺς εὐαγγελίους αἰώνιους, οἰκεῖος αὐτῷ λεχθησαντος πτευματικούς, εφόβοις παριστασθεῖσιν ταῦτα εὐαγγελίους, οὐτε τὸν ὄντα τὸν θεόν. —Διοπτρὲς αἰδεξαντος πτευματικούς καὶ σφραγικούς χριστιανούς· καὶ οὐτε μόνον τοῦ σφραγικοῦ παραγόντος εὐαγγελίου, φασκούστα μηδὲν εἰδίναι τοὺς σφραγίκοις οἱ Ιησοῦς καὶ τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις, ταῦτα ποιηταί. Επειδὴ δὲ εὐρεῖνοι κατηγορούμενοι τὴν πτευματικήν, καὶ καρποφορεῖσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν, ἐρωτᾶς τοι τὰ εργατικὰ σφραγῖς, μᾶλλοντος συντελεῖσθαι τὸ λογότητον, επανιδεῖσθαι αὐτὸν τὰ σφραγίδων, εφ ὃ οὐτε τοιούτης πρᾶξις τοῦ Θεοῦ.” Comment. in Johan. Tom. i. sec. 9. vol. iv. p. 9. 10. Ed. Délari. —Second Letters to Dr. Horsley, Let. 8. Hist. Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 13.

even so the gospel as it is received to be understood by all who are coming to be instructed teaches a shadow of the Christian mysteries." With regard to Dr. Priestley's translation of a part of this passage—"so is the gospel as understood by the generality." Jamieson affirms—"Origen hath said nothing that can bear this sense. He does not so much as mention the generality. This is entirely our author's own gloss."—"Origen has no idea of contrasting the learned with the common people, but church members with the catechumens, who were yet to be initiated in the first principles of the oracles of God."—"Nothing can be plainer," he adds, "than that the only persons here contrasted are those coming *νεωτεροι*, 'to be instructed,' and *των νωτερων*, 'those already instructed.' " Jamieson then proceeds to state that great secrecy was by the time of Origen introduced into the church, with regard to mysteries; and that however long persons might have been in the state of catechumens, the mysteries of the Trinity and incarnation were not taught them till about forty days before baptism. Origen therefore, according to him, is merely saying that the corporeal gospel, as he calls it, was to be preached to catechumens, and the spiritual gospel to the initiated.

To this answer of Jamieson, it is only necessary to say, what will be perfectly obvious to every one who has a common knowledge of the Greek language, that the words of the original will bear no such meaning as he has put upon them. To *νηματεροις* cannot mean—"as is received to be understood," and still less can *νεωτεροι* mean "to be instructed." *Νεωτεροι*, as far as its significations have any reference to the present passage, means, "to be considered," "to be thought," "to be esteemed"—and *νεωτεροι*, not "to be instructed," but "to be understood." The literal rendering of the passage, of which Dr. Priestley has given the proper sense, is as follows: "As the law exhibits a shadow of good things to come, to be made manifest by that law, which is preached according to truth, so also the gospel, as it is thought to be understood by the generality, teaches a shadow of the mysteries of Christ." The translation of Ferrarius, which is published in the Benedictine edi-

tion of Origen, and which may be seen below,* agrees essentially with the above, and with that of Dr. Priestley.

It is unnecessary to point out some other errors, by which Jamieson has supported what he has advanced.

I proceed to another passage, which Dr. Priestley has produced from Origen.

"Some are adorned with the logos itself, but others with a logos which is akin to it, and seeming to them to be the true logos; who know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified, who look at the word made flesh."[†]

"It is not surprising," says Jamieson, "that a writer, who was so absolutely devoted to mystical senses, as to speak contemptuously even of the letter of the gospel, should frequently take occasion to expose the ignorance of others, while he thus virtually extolled his own inventive powers. This is the obvious tendency of the other passages quoted by Dr. Priestley." He then quotes the passage last given, and only remarks upon it, that "in these words, there is nothing that shews whether he immediately referred to catechumens, or to church members."

The next passage quoted by Dr. Priestley is as follows:

"There are," says Origen, "who partake of the logos which was from the beginning, the logos that was with God, and the logos that was God, as Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and any others that speak of him as the logos of God, and the

* —"Ut lex umbram continet futororum bonorum, quæ declarantur ab ea lege quæ annuntiat secundum veritatem; sic etiam Evangelium, quod vel a quibuscumque vulgaribus [υτω μαρτιον των επιτυχησαντων] intelligi existimatur, umbram docet mysteriorum Christi." Oι επιτυχησαντες, Qui in nos incident, seu, In quos nos forte fortuna incidimus. STEPHANUS. It may be thought however (as Ferrarius seems to have understood it) that ἐπιτυχησαντες here passes into the meaning of επιτυχησαντος.—επιτυχησαντος de qualibet dicitur in quem primum incidimus.—Et quoniam ea, quæ passim obvia sunt, vilia plerunque sunt et vulgaria, ideo pro Vilis, Vulgaris et Trivialis accipitur—Item homo επιτυχησαντος dicitur qui eorum numero est qui passim nobis occurunt. Id est, qui Plebeius est et e vulgo, Vilis et humilis conditionis. STEPHANUS.

† Comment in Johan. tom. ii. sec. 3. Op. tom. iv. p. 53. Edit. Delarue. Hist. of Earl. Opp. ubi sup.

logos that was with him; but there are others who know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified, the logos that was made flesh, thinking that they have every thing of the logos, when they acknowledge Christ according to the flesh. Such is the multitude of those who are called Christians.”*

“ Here,” says Jamieson, “ I grant, Origen seems to speak of church-members. But the whole context is such a mass of mystic absurdity, that it is impossible to know his determinate meaning, almost in any one assertion. A few lines before explaining a passage in Deut. iv. he says, That God gave the heavenly bodies to the nations, ‘that those who cannot recur to intelligible nature, might suspect that there was divinity in bodily and sensible things, and, not descend to the worship of idols (the work of the hands of men) and demons.’ I presume, that it would puzzle our author himself to make any thing that has the shadow of sense, not to speak of the substance, in the greatest part of the exposition of that passage which is the pretended text.

“ Are we then,” he asks, “ to form our judgment of the real state of the Christian church from such an unintelligible rhapsody?”

I can readily believe that Jamieson did not understand the context of Origen, though from a different cause than any intrinsic obscurity. The sentence that he has quoted as a specimen of mystic absurdity is in itself about as intelligible as can easily be produced. Origen is instituting a comparison between those who are in different states of knowledge in respect to what is to be worshipped as supreme, and those who have different degrees of knowledge in regard to the logos, or rather are in different states with regard to the wisdom, of which he is the source. He divides each, viz. the worshippers of the true God and of other gods, and the partakers of the logos into four classes. The third class of those first mentioned are such as worship the heavenly bodies, whom he considers as superior to the fourth and last class, the worship-

* Comment in Joh. ubi sup. Second Letters to Dr. Horsley, let. 2. Hist. of Earl Opp. ubi sup.

pers of idols. To those of the third class he says, that God gave the sun and the moon and all the host of heaven,* “that they who could not raise their minds to intellectual [or spiritual] natures, being moved to think of something divine by objects of worship obvious to the senses, might willingly rest in these, and not fall away to idols and demons.”† Such is the sentence which Jamieson has given as a specimen of the unintelligible context of Origen.

The last passage of Origen, produced by Dr. Priestley in this connexion, is as follows:

“‘The multitudes,’ (i. e. the great mass or body) ‘of believers, are instructed in the shadow of the logos, and not in the true logos of God, which is in the open heaven.’”‡

THE next author whom Dr. Priestley quotes is Athanasius himself.

“Athanasius also,” he says, “like Tertullian, acknowledged that the unitarian doctrine was very prevalent among the lower class of people in his time. He calls them the *τολλα*, *the many*, and describes them as persons of low understanding. ‘It grieves,’ he says, ‘those who stand up for the holy faith, that the multitude, and especially persons of low understanding, should be infected with those blasphemies. Things that are sublime and difficult are not to be apprehended, except by faith; and ignorant people must fail, if they cannot be persuaded to rest in faith, and avoid curious questions.’”§

Jamieson thinks that the turn of expression in the original implies that the heresy by which the multitude was infected

* Deut. iv. 19.

† —τη τε μη διαφέρεις εἰς την πολὺν απαράσταν θυσίαν, δι' αὐτήν τοιν κινητεῖς τείχις θυσίας, αγαπητές καὶ εἰ τόποις ἴστοβαι, καὶ μη τικτεῖν εἰς ιδωλα καὶ δαιμόνια. Orig. Op. tom. iv. p. 52. Edit. Delaru.

‡ Comment in Johan. tom. ii. sec. 4. Op. tom. iv. p. 56. Edit. Delaru. Second Letters to Dr. Horsley, Let. 8. Hist. of Earl. Opp. ubi sup.

§ Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 13, sect. 2. Athanasii Op. vol i. p. 591. Paris, 1627. De incarnatione verbi cont. Paul. Samosat.

was something novel. The mode of expression on which he relies may be thus given in a translation. "Those who stand up for the holy faith are grieved on account of the blasphemies which are hurting the multitude."* All, he says, that the language of Athanasius amounts to is, that "this heresy was getting in among them. It is hurting the multitude," he says. Any impartial person would understand his language as necessarily implying that their faith had been previously different; nay, that the persons referred to were not confirmed in heresy." Jamieson then produces a quotation from Athanasius in which he speaks of the antiquity of his own faith, as derived from the apostles, and of the novelty of contrary opinions, which he calls vanities that have a new sound:

Whether or not there be any force in Jamieson's first remark, one might easily believe, without an express quotation to the purpose, that Athanasius claimed for his opinions the authority of the apostles, of the scriptures, and even of the tradition of the church. Nor is it much to be wondered at if he asserted the novelty of the contrary doctrine. This doctrine however he affirms to be hurting the multitude. [Τοις πολλοῖς.] The multitude therefore even in his day must have been favorably disposed to it.

Dr. Priestley, though not in immediate connexion with what I have been quoting from him, produces another passage of Athanasius to the same purpose. "That the unitarians," he says "were exceedingly numerous in the time of Athanasius, or not long before it, especially in Africa, is evident from his complaints on the subject. He says that 'in Pentapolis of Upper Lybia, some of the bishops embraced the doctrine of Sabellius, and prevailed so much, that the Son of God was hardly preached in the churches.' †

* Λοτε δι και εν της αντιχομετες της αγυιας πιστων, η περι την αντινομην βλασφημιαν βλακτωσα της πολλων.

† Επ Πενταπολεων της αιω Διδυκης τηνικαυτα τηνε την εκποκεπων εφεσην τη Σαβελλιανη και τοντον μοχυσαν τηνε επικονιασι, οις ελιγη δει μηκετι ει την επιλογηνις κηρυττεσθαι την διον τη Σεν. De Sententia Diomysii, Opera, vol. i. p. 552. Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 14.

Of this passage of Athanasius, Jamieson makes a new translation. According to Athanasius, he says, "the heresy of Sabellius prevailed so much, that in a little time it was no longer necessary to preach the Son of God in the churches." Although this passage could prove all that prevalence of unitarianism asserted by Dr. Priestley, it would still prove with no less force of evidence, that this doctrine was substituted for another. 'The Son of God' had been 'preached in the churches,' in that sense affixed to the expression by Athanasius. But this was 'no longer necessary,' because the followers of Sabellius believed 'that the Father was the Son.'

It is very much to the credit of Jamieson's honesty that he blunders and misrepresents where this is nearly or wholly useless. In the passage in question he translates ἀεὶ οὐκέτι δεῖ, by the words, *that in a little time it was no longer necessary*. It would require but a moderate knowledge of the Greek to prevent one from falling into a mistake, such as Jamieson has here committed. It is one however wholly unimportant, except that a mistranslation so grossly incorrect as what he has given does in itself go very far toward settling the character of his learning. The phrase ἀεὶ οὐκέτι δεῖ, which Jamieson has rendered—"that in a little time it was—necessary," is of a class of phrases of no infrequent occurrence. Its meaning is 'so that little was wanting,'—'so that hardly.'* Dr. Priestley's translation is perfectly correct, except that to be strictly literal he should have rendered οὐκέτι thus—'and prevailed so much that the Son of God was hardly *any more*, preached in the churches:' or in other words—so that little was wanting that the Son of God should not be *any more* preached in the churches.

The errors of Jamieson are forced more unpleasantly into notice by the general flippancy of his style. His want of all requisite qualification for engaging in such a con-

* Δεῖ in quibusdam loquendi formis junctum genitivo per Abest redditur—τολλεῖ δεῖ, Lat. Multum abest, Gall. Il s'en faut beaucoup—τερρεῖ δεῖ, il s'en faut tout—ταπεῖ δεῖ, Tantum abest—μηδεῖ δεῖ, Parum abest, &c. Stephanus.

troversy as the present would alone, even with much more fairness of mind than he possesses, be sufficient to destroy all confidence in his statements and assertions; for in such a controversy one can hardly trust to the representations even of honest ignorance.

BUT we proceed in our account. The next author whom Dr. Priestley quotes is Jerom:—

“ These *humble Christians* of Origen,” says Dr. Priestley, “ who got no farther than *the shadow of the logos*, the *simplices*, and *idiots* of Tertullian, and the *persons of low understanding* of Athanasius, were probably the *simplices credentum* of Jerom, who, he says, ‘ did not understand the scriptures as became their majesty.’ For had these simple Christians (within the pale of the church) inferred from what John says of the logos, and from what Christ says of himself, that he was, personally considered, equal to the Father, Jerom would hardly have said, that ‘ they did not understand the scriptures according to their majesty,’ for he himself would not pretend to a perfect knowledge of the mystery of the trinity. ‘ For these simple Christians,’ he says, ‘ the earth of the people of God brought forth hay, as for the heretics it brought forth thorns.’ For the intelligent, no doubt, it yielded richer fruits.

“ From all these passages,” continues Dr. Priestley, “ and others quoted before, I cannot help inferring, that the doctrine of Christ being any thing more than a man, the whole doctrine of the eternal logos, who was in God, and who was God, was long considered as a more abtruse and refined principle, with which there was no occasion to trouble the common people; and that the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ continued to be held by the common people till after the time of Athanasius, or after the council of Nice. And if this was the case then, we may safely conclude, that the unitarians were much more numerous in a more early period, as it is well known that they kept losing, and not gaining ground, for several centuries.

From the character likewise of those by whom the unitarian doctrine was held, Dr. Priestley thinks its antiquity may be inferred, because according to one of his Maxims of historical criticism*—"The common or unlearned people, in any country, who do not speculate much, retain longest any opinions with which their minds have been much impressed; and therefore, we always look for the oldest opinions in any country, or any class of men, among the common people, and not among the learned." I cannot quote at length the statement and illustration which Dr. Priestley gives of this maxim in application to the present subject.†

Another argument in proof, that about the time of Justin Martyr the unitarian doctrine was ancient and generally received, and the contrary doctrines novel, is derived by Dr. Priestley from the manner in which the latter were proposed, and from the manner in which they were received. The doctrines of the preexistence and divinity of Christ were proposed according to him with diffidence, and the air of an apology; as is exemplified in the quotation formerly given from Justin Martyr; and it was with great difficulty that the generality of Christians were reconciled to them, and generally to the doctrine of the trinity in any form.

"It is evident," he says, "that the lower class of Christians was much staggered by it, and exceedingly offended when they *did* hear of it; which could never have been the case if it had then been supposed to have been the doctrine of the apostles, and to have been delivered by them as the most essential article of Christian faith, in which light it is now represented. Such terms as *scandalizare*, *expavescere*, &c. used by Tertullian, Novatian, &c. and *raptus*, &c. by Origen, can only apply to the case of some *novel* and *alarming* doctrine, something that men had not been accustomed to. We may therefore take it for granted, that it had not been much heard of among the common people at least; and if so, that it had never been taught by the apostles."

* First Letters to Dr. Horsley, Appendix, sect. 8. Hist. of Earl. Opp. Conclusion, sect. 3.

† See Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 13. sect. 1.

"Admitting that the apostles had taught any doctrines of a peculiarly sublime nature (which the Fathers pretend to have been the case with respect to the preexistence and divinity of Christ) yet, as all their teaching was in public, and there were no secrets among them (Paul, for instance, having solemnly assured the elders at Ephesus, that *he had not shunned to declare unto them the whole counsel of God*) the common people must at least have heard of these sublime doctrines, and have been accustomed to the sound of the language in which they were expressed. And had they known that those doctrines had been taught by the apostles to any of their body, though not to themselves, they would have learned to respect what they did not understand, and was not meant for their use. They could never have been *offended* and *staggered* at things which they and their fathers before them had always been in the hearing of."*

I omit, as I do not know that there is any controversy concerning them, various passages that Dr. Priestley quotes from different trinitarian writers, from Origen, Novatian, and Eusebius. They, in connexion with Tertullian in the passage before quoted from him, speak of their opponents as being 'troubled,' 'shocked,' 'offended,' and 'scandalized,' at the doctrine of the trinity. And, in writing on the divinity of Christ, they describe them as being *afraid of making two gods*, as *fearful of introducing a second god*, and as being *dreadfully afraid* lest they should be obliged to acknowledge two hypostases of the Father and of the Son.

"In short," says Dr. Priestley, "it appears that the ancient unitarians entertained the same *dread* of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, that the trinitarians of this day do of that of his simple humanity; a proof that each of them had been brought up in the persuasion of the opinions they held, being the doctrine of their ancestors, and of the apostles. In this the ancient unitarians could not be mistaken, but the trinitarians of the present age may very well be so. Whether, therefore, we consider the feelings of the unitarians, or those

* Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 14.

of the trinitarians of the early ages, we perceive evident traces of the former maintaining an *old opinion*, and the latter a *new one*.”*

I must again refer to Dr. Priestley [Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 18. sect. 2.] for various presumptive arguments in favor of what he is maintaining. Some of these may be thought forcible; and if one be solicitous to see the answers of Jamieson, these may be found in his second volume without difficulty.

Relying on these presumptions, and much more on the arguments I have stated and the passages I have quoted, Dr. Priestley makes the following remarks:—

“ That the unitarians constituted the great body of Christians till the time of Justin Martyr, and that they were the majority at least of the common people till about the time of the council of Nice, has, I presume, been proved to as much satisfaction as the circumstances of the case could be expected to admit. There is every reason to believe that it was so *a priori*, a great number of circumstances, applied by the clearest axioms of historical criticism, shew that it *must* have been so. And there is likewise the strongest *positive testimony* to the fact, from some of the most considerable Christian writers. The unitarians were the *major pars credentium*, in the time of Tertullian, they were the *τοις λαοῖς*, *the multitude*, and the *τοις λαοῖς*, *the multitudes* of Origen, and the *κοσμοῖς*, *the many* of Athanasius.”†

(To be continued.)

REMARKS ON AN ESSAY ON ECCLESIASTICAL TRIBUNALS.

A PIECE was published in the Panoplist for July 1812, with the following title:—“ A few remarks on the want of Ecclesiastical Tribunals in Massachusetts for the trial of offending ministers.” The writer expresses his feelings and wishes upon this subject in the first sentence, which is as follows—

* Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 14. † Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 14.

"It is a deplorable fact that there is no tribunal in our churches competent to try an offending minister without his own consent." After saying that the present customary mode of removing such differences as may exist between ministers and their churches, viz. by councils, is inadequate, because it is not in the power of a council to punish the offender by depriving him of his ministerial character, and because "if some will not employ him others may," and "he can gather a church and administer sacraments," and thus, "however depraved, he attaches to the ministry all the reproach of his future immoralities," the writer asks, "is there not something horribly defective in this state of things?" He afterwards observes, that "the defect of our present system is still more apparent in the case of heresy. Here a minister is absolutely invulnerable." He thinks that there are no means whatever of punishing an heretical clergyman, especially when his church professes the same opinions as himself, but that it is a duty established in scripture incumbent on Christian communities to call ministers as well as people to account for heresy; that—"A solemn question, interesting to every man that has a part to act for God, is then brought before us: *Ought not such a tribunal to be erected without delay?*" Three things are stated to be necessary to render this tribunal competent to its proposed objects. 1, That it should have power to depose from office, and to ordain. 2, That it should be a permanent body. 3, That ministers should voluntarily submit to its authority. The purpose of this tribunal is not merely to judge those heretical and immoral ministers who may have submitted to its authority, but to direct and strengthen the orthodox in adopting an uniform mode of treatment toward those heretics, who are not immediately under its power. A method of forming the proposed tribunal is suggested, and among other advantages to be gained by it, is mentioned *the promotion of brotherly love!*

We confess that we have read this piece with some feelings of surprise and mortification. We were aware that there were men among us to whom it might be supposed that such establishments would be pleasing, but we were not prepared to see

so open and public a proposition for their institution. It is somewhat humiliating to those who are interested in the intellectual character of our country, that such individuals should suppose that their influence is sufficient to execute a design like this; or that they should think that the state of public feeling is such that the suggestion will be tolerated. That these and similar feelings should have been excited in us by this piece, will not, we think, be surprising to any who will consider, what it is in the existing state of things which has probably produced this proposal, with what principles and feelings it must be connected, and to what consequences the adoption of it would lead. We shall notice these things, and we shall notice also some of the arguments which the writer in the Panoplist has adduced in support of his proposition.

The Essay on which we are remarking is itself an indication of something in the present state of things, peculiarly unpleasant to the writer; and it is explicitly implied, that there are some reasons at the present time for the establishments he advises, other than have always existed. To something now existing hostile to his own views, the writer certainly alludes when he laments, with a warmth almost ludicrous, that those means which are favorable to their promotion have not been before adopted. "Ecclesiastical domination," he observes, "is of all things, that which we have least reason to fear in New England. The bent of the age is to the opposite extreme. We are much more in danger of anarchy; it can never be sufficiently impressed on the public mind, that the thing which we have most reason to fear, is a dissolution of all ecclesiastical government and discipline, leading the way to an apostacy, greater than that of Rome. Has not this apostacy already begun to appear? What do we behold? Let any orthodox man lay his hand upon his heart, and then say, whether, if sufficient responsibility had been attached to the ministerial character fifty years ago, things would have come to their present pass." The principal evil which such a tribunal as that proposed would have prevented can be no other than what it is now intended to remedy—the ex-

istence and prevalence of what are stigmatized as heretical sentiments. The pride of opinion, which is in no case so strong as on religious subjects, reverence for antiquity, the fondness for the countenance of numbers, will always render those who dissent from the commonly received notions, objects of aversion—especially to those, whose influence or power is lessened by the diminishing numbers of such as think with them. It was natural therefore that the change, which for a long time has been slowly taking place, and which of late years has been so manifest in the feelings, and opinions, and the habits of study of many of our theologians, should excite much odium and opposition. In our view however this change is the honest index of the increase of learning, and the prevalence of habits of thought and investigation. The introduction of the science of biblical criticism has made a new era in the ecclesiastical history of our country, and to a taste for this study, and also to the greater, and continually increasing facilities which are afforded to students for obtaining theological learning, as well as to the diffusion of literature among us, we proudly attribute the enlarged views and liberal feelings of a great portion of our community. The young theologian does not now search in stale bodies of divinity, or in collections of catechisms and confessions, or in the professed system of a popular leader or of a powerful party, for the tenets he will embrace. He would be ashamed to be suspected of admitting any authority but the bible, or any interpreter but his reason. That a diversity of opinions on speculative subjects should be produced by this noble freedom, is the natural and inevitable consequence of the diversity of human faculties. Another result, which we think natural and necessary, is the prevalence of different, and, in our opinion, far more honorable and more correct views of our religion, than those which we believe were originated and matured in that superstition and ignorance, which at last deepened into the darkness of the middle ages. But that each should hold his own sentiments with meekness, as the sentiments of an individual, and should allow to others the same liberty of judging, which

he himself claims, and believe that each man has a greater interest in being right than another can have in making him so, is the disposition which generally does, and always ought to accompany such freedom. This tolerating and catholic spirit is extensively diffused through this part of our country. It is indeed much opposed and suppressed, as far as their influence extends, by some, whose narrow, but honest minds, have been too long contracted to be capable of enlargement, and who are instigated most zealously by others, whom their own passions and interests have driven into opposition. Loud and bitter in consequence have been the denunciations against many of our clergy, for the freedom with which they have thought, and the liberty with which they have spoken. Two instances are yet recent, in which honest inquiry has been followed by all the obloquy that could be inflicted by the condemnation of self-appointed censors, and by all the temporal punishment they could impose. From similar causes the characters of many of the clergy of our metropolis and its neighbourhood have been misrepresented, and we may say, infamously misrepresented. The calumnies that have been circulated have been believed, we suppose, by the credulous and ignorant; and, for aught we know, have, by their frequent repetition, had some effect upon the minds of men of discernment and intelligence, who could not themselves be undeviated by personal observation. We have in different parts of our country, heard stories of the kind to which we allude, that were so ludicrously false, and betrayed such profound ignorance, that we were made grave only by remembering the mischief they were the means of effecting, and the criminal deception, the misrepresentations and misstatements of passion, and prejudice, and party zeal, in which they had their origin. But however jealous we may be of the reputation of men, upon whom, more perhaps than on any others, depends the respectability of our clergy, and however desirous that they should have the rewards of public approbation which their learning, their piety, their assiduity in the discharge of their duties deserve, we shall not attempt to vindicate them from the charges to which

they are exposed. We alluded to this subject only that we might present a strong and prominent instance of the objects of so much odium, cloaked as it is under the garb of opposition to heresy and zeal for the cause of religion, and an instance likewise of the mode of warfare which has been adopted. Let the character of our metropolis answer for that of her clergy. That its character depends much upon that of its ministers of religion, no one can deny. Let the voices be heard which constantly sound in distant places, as well as at home, in praise of her ready munificence, her extensive liberality, and the relief which she affords to the wretched, of whatever communion or country. Her institutions for the promotion of human comfort and of literature are sufficient evidence of the principles, which exist in the hearts of those, who have the disposal of her wealth, either by influence or possession. Above all, let her morality be remembered, by which her citizens are so much distinguished from the inhabitants of most large cities, and which in no small degree must be the result of the exertions of her clergy, and of the kind of instructions which they dispense. Our university has in like manner been assailed, but she has been shielded by the talents and virtues of her guardians; and the ineffectualy of the attacks upon her character could not be better evinced, than by the public confidence which is indicated by her present condition, and the patronage she now receives. The reason why our clergy have been thus reprobated, and our university attacked, is to be found in the notions on religious subjects, which are, or are said to be, maintained, in the opinions concerning the mode in which those of different religious opinions should be treated, and the degree of importance to be attached to the belief of certain speculative doctrines. In the mode of regarding these things there has certainly been a great change, since a period to be recollectcd, which we think is to be attributed to the influence of learning and criticism. Most of those who, from want of this learning, or from other causes do not see the reasons of it, are opposed to those who are concerned in it. The opinions in consequence which are now enter-

tained by many on some or all of these subjects are stigmatized by others as heretical—a term of theological abuse, which it requires no other quality of the mind or of the heart to enable and dispose one to apply, than that satisfied and undoubting confidence in the correctness of one's own opinions, which is the common result of ignorance and want of examination. It is this great and increasing change, which we think has excited the zeal of the writer in the Panoplist. It is to overwhelm this heresy that he would erect his ecclesiastical tribunals, and the statement which we have made will explain his meaning when he speaks of *the pass to which things have now come*. When therefore we consider the character of the men who have been denounced or avoided because they maintain certain sentiments, the places where these sentiments are said to prevail, the apparent causes of their prevalence, and the weapons by which those who profess them have been assailed, we confess, that to us what is called hatred to heresy, appears to be opposition to sound criticism, to learning, and to catholicism. It is the blasting and destruction of these, which we think the authors of the proposition for ecclesiastical tribunals are aiming at *directly if not willingly*. Among those who might associate for their formation there would be some without doubt who would not be aware of the greatness of the power they were assuming, and of the mischief which they were about to assist in perpetrating. But it would be blind charity indeed to believe, that this plan was only blundered upon, by such as were unable to perceive what consequences would result from its execution, and it would be against our conviction to profess, that its framers were not aware and desirous of some effects, which we should consider as disgraceful to our country, and most injurious to religion.

It must necessarily be a fundamental principle with those who associate themselves for the purpose of judging of the correctness of the religious opinions of others, and for punishing those who may deviate from their own, that there is no doubt that they themselves are right, both in the opinions they entertain, the importance they attach to them, and the power

they assume in coercing those of others. They must believe that they have a full view of the subjects upon which they judge—that they see them in every direction. They must deny that the prejudices of education, the scenes with which they have been conversant, or their occupations in life, circumstances, which affect the judgments of other men in a thousand ways, have had any influence upon them. They must suppose that their minds are perfectly pure, and free from any bias, which violent party feelings, or local attachments, which deep rooted prejudices, or bitter passions, or a mean, yet as powerful motive as any, interest, might be expected to produce. They must maintain, that in some way or another, they have been privileged (withoxt perhaps any particular efforts on their part) to escape the influence of all these motives; and that in consequence, by the peculiar circumstances of the case, and by an internal consciousness of being certainly right, they are marked out as the delegates of heaven, to judge, and censure, and punish their fellow Christians for exercising that liberty on religious subjects concerning which some of them have heretofore been in the habit of thinking that they are accountable only to God. Such claims have been often made, and the plea on which they are usually founded by vulgar fanaticism is that of a special, miraculous illumination, which leads into all truth. The writer in the Panoplist however finds his claim to the certainty of being right upon his peculiar fairness of mind, and goodness of heart; a mind, if we understand him, too fair to yield to any prejudice; and a heart too good to be influenced by any improper motive. It is because his heart is so good, and those of his opponents so corrupt, and their minds so blinded by the god of this world, that there are such differences of opinion between him and them: for, as he believes, none of the circumstances which so much affect men's minds on other subjects can cause any innocent variety of sentiment on topics of religious speculation. When attempting to answer an objection, that it is difficult to determine what heresy is, he says, that on this point, “There is no necessity for mistake. To a good heart

that consults the Great Interpreter, revelation is sufficiently plain. ‘If our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not.’”

As a further solution of the same difficulty, he adds in immediate connexion with what we have quoted, as follows: “But this knot is cut at a stroke. Latitudinarian principles allow every man a right to interpret scripture for himself, and (if the right is good for any thing,) to regulate his duties by that interpretation. Now, one plain duty is, ‘to reject’ ‘a man that is a heretic.’ In performing this duty then, every unauthorized tribunal has a right to its own interpretation of scripture, and must judge for itself what heresy is.”

We do not profess fully to understand what is meant by calling the right of private judgment in matters of religion, a latitudinarian principle; we had thought it had been, professedly at least, a principle with all protestants. Undoubtedly however the writer means at least to express his dislike to it, for ‘latitudinarian’ with him is, without question, an epithet of disgust. Nor do we wonder that those, who are so eager to constrain to their own standard the opinions of their fellow Christians, should thus indirectly express their aversion to that principle of protestantism to which they dare not openly avow their opposition.

But it seems that it is a plain duty, which the scriptures have made binding upon all Christians in all ages, to “reject” an heretic. We shall examine hereafter what the scriptures say with regard to this subject, but it may be well here to consider what it is, which this writer thinks is incumbent upon him and his fellow laborers, with regard to those whose opinions are different from his own. “If you do not,” he says, “call private brethren to account for heresy,” “you are transgressors of as plain precepts as are found in the bible.” —“For heresy alone Hymenæus and Alexander were delivered unto Satan; though nothing worse appears against them, than an attempt to explain away the doctrine of the resurrection.” A much more venial thing, we are probably to under-

stand, than an attempt to argue away some of the doctrines of orthodoxy. He then quotes the following passage from St. John—"If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed; for he that biddeth him God speed is a partaker of his evil deeds."—"This," he says, "the beloved disciple meant for the church in every age; he expected they would determine; and if they mistake the application of the precept, it is their own fault." It seems then that this writer thinks himself not merely privileged, but expressly directed by scripture to deny to his opponents the common offices of hospitality, and civilized life, to reject them, and at least to cultivate a disposition, if he have not the power, to deliver them over to Satan; and all this is to be done for the promotion of brotherly love.

These are novel duties to us, but if they are in fact duties enjoined by our religion, we too must endeavour to practise them to the extent of our ability. If Christianity does indeed require, that we should thus conduct ourselves towards those whose religious opinions are different from our own, we have a considerable change to make in our feelings and habits, but still it must be effected. We too must bring ourselves to adopt a course of conduct, and a style of language, towards those who maintain opinions, which we believe the disgrace of Christianity, considerably different from what we have hitherto regarded as correct.

There is something so utterly inconsistent with the spirit of our religion, in men, whom it is no want of charity to suppose are not better or wiser than many others, thus coming forward, and without modesty or reserve, making claim to peculiar sanctity and goodness, and peculiar religious illumination; in those who are taught *not to judge another man's servant*, thus asserting a claim to regulate the opinions of their fellow Christians; in men, probably without any peculiar advantages from natural talents, or attentive examination, pretending to decide so confidently upon questions, with regard to which the wise and the good have been so much divided; in

their perverting the language of scripture to justify a course of conduct, so wholly adverse to that charity, which every page of it inculcates; and in their doing all this under pretence of a zeal for religion, and the promotion of brotherly love; there is something so inconsistent in all this with the real spirit of Christianity, that we turn away from the whole spectacle with some feelings such as we would not wish to have often excited.

Our principles are radically opposed to any institution, which would in the least degree repress the most perfect freedom of examination and discussion, and the most entire liberty and safety of professing opinions. It cannot be that these means, which on every other subject lead directly to the discovery and establishment of truth, on the subjects of religion should only lead to error. But the institution of such a tribunal as is proposed by the writer in the Panoplist would tend to check inquiry, destroy the habit and means of criticism, and bias the judgment. To the existence of this tribunal it is essential that a system of doctrines should be agreed upon by those who compose it; and the system of doctrines which is thus declared to be the true one, and by which all around are to be judged, is that which it is most clearly the interest of all, who are within the influence of the tribunal, to adopt. In proportion to the power of this body is the influence, which is exercised over the minds of those around to adopt its creed, other than that which proceeds from fair examination and honest conviction. This influence will consist in the desire which many will feel to be sharers of the authority which is assumed, that they may become more important, and may indulge their ill-will perhaps towards those who dissent from them in opinion. The fear lest they themselves should become objects of its censure, lest they should be denouneed and avoided as heretics, will also affect some; and some may be induced to yield their reason to their interest, or suffer their understanding to be overcome by timidity, on the false and pernicious principle, that it is better to believe too much, than

too little. These are the most simple causes of an undue bias; and their operation would be certain and immediate.

To those who are young, and who have yet to form their religious opinions, the dark shade of this establishment would be fatal. To differ would insure disgrace, and free inquiry would be impossible. Their faith would be established in ignorance and credulity, and maintained with bigotry proportioned to the weakness of its foundations. And can it be supposed that those who have once associated for the purposes proposed, will ever disturb their own minds with examination, or test that faith which they have sworn to support, or that they will be ready with arguments to answer and convince their opponents, when they have assumed that they are infallible, and their pride is continually gratified by power, and it is against the deductions of human reason that this power is to be exerted? No. Bigotry, as it is the effect, so it is the cause of ignorance, and to suppose that theological learning could exist where such power was established, would be contradictory to reason and experience. We state no extravagant consequences; these are the simplest and most harmless ways in which such an institution would operate—others will occur to every reflecting mind, which would be the distressing and terrible, but not the less certain fruits of its maturity and strength.

The writer in the *Panoplist* was aware that objections might be made. He himself states what they probably would be. Nor does he deny that such consequences as have been here predicted would follow from the execution of his designs; but by the use of some passages of the New Testament, which we shall now more particularly notice, he has attempted, as we have seen, to throw upon Christianity the disgrace of justifying such designs, and authorizing their consequences. "But to call ministers to account for heresy," he says, "is a domination over conscience! an intolerant attempt to crush free inquiry! forcing men to adopt your explanations of scripture! denying that the Bible is a sufficient rule of faith without human creeds! foisting technical and scholastic terms into the place of reve-

lation! But not so fast. Do you not call *private brethren* to account for heresy? If not, you are transgressors of as plain precepts as are found in the Bible. ‘A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject.’ For heresy alone, Hymenæus and Alexander were ‘delivered unto Satan,’ though nothing worse appears against them than an attempt to explain away the doctrine of the resurrection.” Every person, tolerably well skilled in the interpretation of the New Testament, knows that the meaning at present affixed to the words *heresy* and *heretic* is entirely different from that in which they are used in the scriptures, or by the early Christian writers, and the argument which is here founded on a false explanation of the language of scripture, might very properly be dismissed without further notice, for we cannot expect that those who would urge it would be benefitted by our critics. The Greek word *aigrotis* should always be translated in the New Testament, either as it generally is in our common version, ‘sect,’ or otherwise, ‘party,’ but never ‘heresy,’ and neither this nor *aigrotikos*, its derivative, has any reference in its primary meaning to opinions, good or bad. Nor do they in themselves imply anything praiseworthy or blamable, except as circumstances shall give them such meaning.* But by heresy at the present day

* *Aigrotis* is applied in the Acts to the Pharisees (*αιγροις των Φαρισαίων*, xv. 5.) and to the Sadducees (*αιγροις των Σαδδουκαίων*, v. 7.) and by Epiphanius to the Jews in the following passage—Ἐπεὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ βέβληται πεντοῦ τοῦτοι αἰγροις εἰσιν, αἱ εὐτὸν αἱδεῖ, βαρβαρόμενοι, σκοτιόμενοι, ἀλλοιόμενοι, κ. τ. λ. (Respon. ad Epist. Acacii. et Pauli.) i. e. In the first book of the first tome are twenty *sects* (*aigrotis*) which are those of the barbarians, of the Scythians, the Greeks, and the Jews. The word *aigrotis* is used four times in the Septuagint. (Gen. lxix. 5. Levit. xxii. 18, 21. 1 Mac. viii. 30.) In two of which it means agreement or compact, and in the others relates to voluntary oblations. The word occurs in 1 Cor. xi. 19. “For there must also be heresies (*aigrotis*) among you.” Here the Greek Fathers in general understand it as synonymous with the ‘divisions’ before mentioned and as signifying the parties, into which the Corinthians were divided, in eating the Lord’s supper; and this we presume to be its true meaning. It is thus that Chrysostom explains it in his twenty seventh Homily on 1 Corinthian. “Αἰγροτις ἐργάζεται, καὶ ταυτας λέγει τας την δογματαν, ἀλλα τας την σχισματαν ταυταν.—ὅτι γαρ περ την αἰγροτιν ταυταν εἴπε την κατα της τροπής, καὶ της φρονσικης ταυτης, καὶ διαστηκης, καὶ ει την της ἑκατον διλογιστησην. i. c.

is meant opinions which are, or which are supposed to be, convertible [the apostle] is not here speaking of heresies of doctrine, but with reference to the divisions before mentioned"—for that he speaks of the parties concerning the tables, and of this strife and separation is manifest from what follows. In a similar manner the passage is explained by Theodore, Photius, and Theophylact. [See Suicer's Thesaurus ad verb.] The words of Photius are—*Αἵρεσις ἵτταντα καὶ τὰς δογματικὰς φυσι, τὰς πάρη πλευτικας, εὐλα τας πάρη τας τριπλατικας.* Προσφέροντας γαρ εἰ πλευτικας τας πλευτικας, τας πλευτικας αἴρεσιν. Photius ap. Clemensium in 2 ad Cor. p. 452. "He [the Apostle] is not here speaking of heresies of doctrine relating to faith, but of the parties respecting the tables. For the rich, preferring the rich, neglected the poor." Cicero uses *heresis* to signify a 'sect of philosophy,' in the third sentence of his *Paradoxa*. For additional examples of the use of the word *aigresis*, see Wetstein's note on 1 Cor. xi. 19.

The word translated heresy, in its original acceptation had no reference to opinions and implied no censure; but meant only, 'election,' 'choice,' and thence, 'sect,' or 'party.' Yet it is evident that as there are cases in which it is a duty to be united, and it must be wrong to have divisions or sects, therefore *aigresis*, when applied to such cases, may be a reproachful epithet. Thus among Christians at the time of the apostles, when there were such ample and certain means of obtaining all necessary direction and information, the existence of differences of any kind was to be severely censured. Therefore in Galatians they are numbered among the works of the flesh. The word heresy in its scriptural sense is not to be applied to those diversities of opinion, which are unavoidable, because of the imperfection of human nature. But it is a just use of it, to apply it to those divisions in the Christian community, which are promoted by ambitious men for their own glory, and to the disturbance and injury of others.

In the same way may be explained how *aigresis* obtains a bad sense, though the word whence it comes has none of itself. The radical meaning of *aigresis* is, one who chooses, or is fit to choose, (qui eligit vel aptus est ad eligendum) and thence it comes to mean one who embraces and supports a sect. (*Aigresis*, inquit Budaeus, qui sectam aliquis amplectitur et fovet.) See Stephens' Thesaurus. It refers to those men who are desirous of promoting dissensions, the authors of sects, the leaders of parties, without reference to the opinions maintained by them, and has a bad sense only as those parties or sects are improper and injurious to those among whom they exist. The man who honestly holds peculiar opinions is not an heretic in the scriptural sense of the word; ("Errare possum, hereticus esse nolo," said St. Augustine, "I may err, but I will not be an heretic;") but he who promotes a separation from him, and thus causes difference and dissension in the church, is an heretic. See Dr. Campbell's criticism on the words *aigresis* and *aigreses* in his Prelims. Dis. ix. part 4.

try to truth; and by heretic, a man who holds such opinions, however sincerely. Such a difference of signification between the word heretic, as now used, and the same word as used in scripture, renders the application of the texts quoted in the Panoplist entirely improper, and evinces either ignorance or dishonesty in the writer who makes it. That the use of the first of the texts, and the only one in which the word heretic occurs, is utterly unjustifiable, and that it cannot be applied to any but those who are wilfully wrong, and not to those who sincerely believe what is really not true, is also apparent from the verse which follows it—“knowing that he who is such is subverted, and sinneth, *being condemned of himself.*”

But although St. Paul, in his injunction to Titus had no reference to those who were only incorrect in their opinions, and therefore gives no support to the argument of the writer in the Panoplist, we are far from denying that he and the other apostles had a right to declare opinions in religion to be false, and to punish those who should teach what was contrary to their instructions. While they lived there were judges who could not err; there was an authority not to be disputed. But because we attribute such power to the apostles, who were the commissioned teachers of Christianity, who were instructed by Jesus Christ, who were directed by the inspiration of God, does it follow that we are to admit the claim of infallibility in men, who certainly are not divinely commissioned teachers of our religion, and who may be ignorant, and prejudiced, and passionate, and wicked? Does it follow that we are to submit ourselves to a tribunal like that which is proposed, whose members, with so little fitness, would assume such high powers?

It is indeed to be noticed that by the very same, and stronger arguments than they might employ, did the church of Rome defend her usurpations. She used the same arms by which freedom is now attempted to be enslaved; and there was more plausibility and consistency in her pretences. Her followers did not trust in the opinions of any but such as they believed were directed immediately by God. It would ver-

tainly be difficult to say in what respects any thing adduced in defense of the plan in the Panoplist would lose its force when applied of the support of papal authority; and alas, it would also be difficult to show why such pretensions, as are urged by men in our own country, should not if unresisted and successful, terminate in the same wicked and despotic sovereignty, and lead to the same enormities and fatal effects, as have been witnessed in other countries.

But it is proper that we should mention whatever, besides what we have already noticed, is produced in the Panoplist as argument. The writer thus proceeds:—"Heresy, which is said to be permitted only to make a clear and public distinction between true and false professors, is numbered among the most abominable works of the flesh. All this, you may say, (profanely enough) is the language of the severe and ardent Paul. What then says the charitable and sweet tempered John, who, it will be allowed, had as much love as any modern latitudinarian? What says he? Only read his three epistles, and you will need no more to convince you that heresy is as decisive a proof of irreligion, and as noticeable by the church, as any immorality. At this an uproar is raised; the cry on every hand is, The council of Trent over against the horrors of the inquisition! a crusade against free inquiry and the rights of conscience! I leave the exclaimers to settle this dispute of interjections with Paul and John, and go on to say, that if it is no tyranny to discipline private brethren for heresy, neither is it to deal with ministers! What would the objectors have you do, when 'there shall be false teachers among you, who ~~privily~~ shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction; and (when) many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth is evil spoken of?' Permit the gentle John to answer. What says he? 'If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed; for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.' We have already sufficiently answered what is contained in

the first sentence of this extract; the impropriety of the second and third we need not illustrate. The principle that ministers are as amenable to human judgment as *private* Christians, we have no inclination to deny; it is to the exercise of any human authority whatever on subjects of religion, that we object. Neither the insinuation nor the argument contained in the quotation from the Epistle of St. Peter are of any force; and that from St. John has no applicability. Those whom St. John addressed had been taught by the apostles themselves, and therefore certainly knew what was their doctrine or teaching. For one to maintain any thing opposite to this was to deny the authority of the apostles of Christ, and of course of Christ himself. We do not consider a direction to these early converts, to avoid any connexion with one who might come among them denying this authority, and endeavouring of course to seduce them from their religion, as any rule for us in our conduct to our fellow Christians. We do not consider it as a direction how we are to treat those who equally with us acknowledge the divine authority of the founder of our religion, and of his apostles, and who only differ from us in a matter of judgment, in their mode of interpreting the records of our religion, records which, we do not say no man of common learning, but no man of common modesty will pretend to be in every part very plain and perspicuous. Those who confessed not that Jesus Christ was come in the flesh,* and who came among these first Christians for the purpose of making converts to their infidelity, were certainly to be received by them in a different manner, from what at the present day we ought to receive all those, with whom it is the fundamental principle of their religion, that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh.

We will now finish our remarks upon the essay in the Panoplist. We have thus particularly noticed the claim of its writer to the authority of the scriptures, in support of the plan he proposes, because the meaning of the passages which he

* See the context of the passage quoted by the writer in the Panoplist.

has quoted are much misrepresented by him; and although we cannot hope to convince men who will argue as he has done, we were unwilling to acquiesce, even in appearance, in such false constructions of that invaluable book. We have not been induced to make these remarks by any apprehension of the success of the project we have opposed. We believe that there is yet too much learning, and virtue, and true religion among us, to allow us to fear the establishment of any ecclesiastical domination. Nor do we expect at all to check the exertions of those who are desirous to have the power of judging and condemning their fellow Christians. But we wish that the characters and designs of some men who are among us, who have come before the public with a proposition such as we have shown it, should be understood; we wish that the friends of religion should be aware of the nature of the attempts which they have made, and of the badness of that cause which requires the support of such exertions, which is to be supported by authority and not by reason. We would urge all, who may think as we do on this subject, to be open in their expressions of the disapprobation they feel, to be resolute in their opposition to the encroachments and usurpations which they condemn, and to be united and vigorous in their exertions to support the cause of rational religion.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

CHARACTER OF REV. JOSEPH STEVENS BUCKMINSTER.

It may be useful to endeavour to collect and embody the recollections which I have yet fresh and vivid of the character of Mr. Buckminster. I have seen him in different situations; I was, I may hope, in some degree honored with his friendship. It may be useful to recall to those who knew him the memory of what he was, and to give some impression of it to those who knew him not. The life of such a man ought not to, and will not pass away, leaving only a momentary track of glory behind. In one respect what I have undertaken will be an easy task. There is nothing concerning his life or character, which must not be told; there is nothing which the feelings of friendship, or a regard to the interests of virtue might make one wish to conceal. In other respects it will be sufficiently difficult. It would be hard indeed to speak of Mr. Buckminster, as he would have spoken of one equally loved and valued with himself.

There is no question that he was one of the most eminent men whom our country has ever produced. In my opinion, he was, far beyond all rivalry, the most eminent literary man of all those of whom she retains only the memory. Yet I say this of one who was not a private and retired scholar; but who, during the last seven years of his short life, (he died in his twenty eighth year,) was occupied in all the many, and sometimes laborious duties of a clergyman in our metropolis; was accessible to the claims which it may easily be thought that friends, and acquaintance, and strangers made upon the society of such a man, and was during this whole period broken in upon by the repeated attacks of that disease, which

finally put an end to a life, whose usefulness it had hardly been able to interrupt. His situation and his circumstances forbade him that laborious diligence, which too often busies itself about difficult and useless trifles; but his mind was always vigilant and active, and quick to seize on any new thoughts, and to perceive their bearing and connexion. No man better estimated the importance of different objects of attention, the value of different writers, or judged better what works were to be examined, and what to be studied. He did not labor to acquire learning merely for the sake of exhibiting it to the wonder of others, but his studies were all for profit and usefulness. In the time which was left him by his many interruptions, he had acquired such a variety of knowledge, that one could hardly converse with him on any subject connected with his profession, or with the branches of elegant literature, without having some new ideas suggested, without receiving some information, or being at least directed how to obtain it. Of his learning, his library, formed by himself, which, for the number of volumes it contained, (between two and three thousand,) was perhaps one of the most valuable ever collected, certainly the most valuable ever possessed by an individual in our country, was of itself no inconsiderable proof. It was always open to the use of his friends, and of every literary man. He was the friend and patron of literature among us. There is no man who knew him, no man of letters in our part of the country, who does not feel how much is lost in losing his judgment, the influence of his ardent interest, and the hope of hearing his expressions of pleasure and of praise.

His favorite study was the interpretation of the scriptures. He was of that class of Christians, who, while they think that the sanctions and duties of our religion, what it teaches, and what it requires, may be made intelligible to the humblest mind; yet believe that much thought and much learning are necessary to understand correctly its earliest records. He was one of those, who think that the scriptures, both Jewish-

and Christian, are to be understood only through the same means of elucidation, as are applied to all other writings of similar or great antiquity; and who consider that peculiar difficulties attend their study, from the want of collateral sources of information, and from the consequent necessity of collecting chiefly from the sacred writings themselves, a knowledge of those facts and circumstances, by which, as far as possible, they are to be illustrated, and of the language or the dialect in which they are written. He was acquainted with all the best writers on the criticism and interpretation of the scriptures, especially those who have appeared since a new and better æra in these studies has commenced, and he was familiar with all the most important results of their investigation. The attention to these studies, which is prevailing and increasing among us, is in no small degree to be attributed to his example and influence. He had been appointed, as I have formerly mentioned* with other feelings, to deliver the first course of lectures on the foundation, which has lately been established, for the promotion of the knowledge of the scriptures in our university. Now that we have leisure to recollect all that we have lost in his death, it cannot be forgotten with how much expectation and interest we looked forward to his fulfilling this appointment.

But though no one is more sensible than I am of the loss, which the literature and theological science of our country has sustained in the death of Mr. Buckminster; and though all who knew him, and were engaged in the same pursuits with him, felt it in its first shock, like the prostration and scattering of their hopes and expectations; yet for myself I think that his loss as a minister of religion is greater and more irremediable. Of his public discourses, I do not fear speaking with exaggerated praise, for they were listened to with delight and improvement by men of the highest and those of the humblest minds. To listen to them was the indulgence and gratification of all our best affections. It was to follow in the triumph of religion and virtue. It was to be present while

* See Repository, vol. i. p. 209.

those truths were advancing in all their force, which we most desire to see established, and those sentiments making a conquest of our own and every heart, which we most desire to feel and see prevailing. No one who has ever heard him has forgotten the interest of his manner, or can ever forget that he has gazed on the illumination of his countenance. If I were to endeavour to give to one, who knew him not, some notion of the general character of his discourses, I would ask him to conceive of the ethereal and dazzling eloquence of Edmund Burke, his rich glow of amiable and manly feeling, and the various stores of his exuberant imagination employed about those subjects which are of the highest and most permanent interest. In doing this I should at least give the character of his eloquence. How nearly it approached to that of the first orator of the age, must be left to the determination of other judges, than those to whose minds is continually recurring the remembrance of all his virtues and all his excellence. But the power of his talents is by no means to be estimated by the extent of his reputation. Our literary men are few and distant from the rest of the world, and incapable of vindicating for any object of their admiration the praise to which he is justly intitled. If we may trust those however who are well capable of judging, and if we may rely on the fairness of our own comparison of those sermons we have heard with those we have read, the eloquence of some of our preachers is not inferior to any that may now be found in that favored country which alone we should acknowledge as a rival, and not far below what any country has ever produced. And he of whom I speak was, beyond all question, to be placed in the first rank of those, by whom we have been best instructed in truth, and most animated in virtue.

He considered Christianity as a revelation of our connexion with God, of our immortality, and of the sanctions of our duty. He regarded it as something which ought to be at the foundation of all our prospects of happiness and all our principles of conduct. He did not regard it as any thing to be applied to men's minds for the purpose of producing temporary excite-

ments, and violent irritations of terror, of fervor, or of zeal; but as what ought to be the animating principle of all our affections and all our conduct, giving life, and health, and vigor, to the whole moral system. It was the object therefore of many of his public discourses, to bring the lives of his hearers into habitual subjection to its animating and awful motives, to connect these with those actions which we are all of us called upon to perform, and to show how they ought to regulate us in those relations in which we are placed to God and our fellow-creatures. The object of other of his discourses was to enforce the evidences of our religion, especially those arising from its internal excellence, and the character of its founder, and its first preachers. One of his discourses on the character of our Saviour, and some others on those of his apostles, are yet vivid in the recollection of many of us. We shall not readily forget the impression which he gave us of their characters, and, if I may be allowed to add it, the impression which he gave us of his own. In other discourses he fulfilled that very important duty of a clergyman, and one of those for which he is particularly set apart, the explanation of the scriptures. He had, as I have said, in no common degree the learning requisite for this purpose, and he knew how to accommodate this learning to popular use, and to render it intelligible to such as were not familiar with theological studies. Some at least of those who heard him will probably, through life, read the scriptures with other views than they would else have done, and with far more intelligence and satisfaction.

The great influence which he acquired, and the great good which he effected as a clergyman, could have been acquired and effected only by one who united his talents and his virtues. As it respects that class of the community who are somewhat above the common rank, the extent of his loss cannot be estimated. By such men, a preacher of even equal genius and eloquence with Mr. Buckminster, but without the sincerity of his faith, the warmth of his piety, and the irreproachable integrity of his life, against which no enmity ever whispered a

suspicion, might be listened to indeed, but only for amusement; and by such men, a preacher of even equal virtue and piety, but without his commanding strength of intellect, his correct views of religion, and his knowledge of human nature and the proper modes of address, might be heard only with endurance. But no man could pretend to look down on the intellectual powers of Mr. Buckminster. No man, from any confidence in his own superior discernment, could pretend to regard with disrespect what he reverenced, or to think lightly of what he made the rule of his life and the foundation of his hopes.

If I were to mention any virtues as characteristic of Mr. Buckminster, one would be that manliness of mind which no applause broke down into any displays of vanity or affectation, which made no sacrifices of honesty or of propriety to acquire any man's favor, and which impressed all who knew him with unconstrained respect. Another would be his forgetfulness of self; so that by the frequent attacks of an alarming disease, he was never subdued into complaint or despondence. He could not but have looked forward with some of those apprehensions, which all who knew him felt, but they did not interrupt his exertions, or destroy his cheerfulness, or diminish his interest in the welfare of his friends, and of all whom he had the power to benefit.

I have said that he was not insensible to the prospect, that he had but a short time to do good to his fellow-creatures. Few of those who heard him on the day of the interment of Mr. Emerson, which took place but about a year before he himself was carried to the grave, have forgotten the prophetic foreboding which escaped him of his own death. That day was rendered yet more gloomy by our witnessing in him the symptoms of disease. In his discourse on that occasion, speaking of his departed brother, he quoted the words of the poet:—

O 'tis well
With him. But who knows what the coming hour,
Veil'd in thick darkness, brings for us?

We may now use the same language. Who knows what awaits us in life, or how soon some friend may fulfil the same

office for us, which with such insufficient ability I am endeavouring to perform for him?

There are those who with myself can recollect, as if he were yet living, his countenance, his manner, and the tones of his voice, his accents of welcome, and his smile of benevolence. There are others, as well as myself, in whom the association is not yet broken, that connected the thought of him with every plan for the promotion of religion or literature, and which led them at once to dwell on what would be his exertions and his interest in its promotion, and his pleasure in its success. It is well for our virtue to preserve the memory of the friends we have lost. There is something of brute insensibility in suffering it lightly to pass away. It connects itself with and strengthens all our better feelings and resolutions. It delivers us from that debasement, which is produced by being continually occupied with present objects. It carries us back to the past, when we knew them, and directs our view to the future, when we shall meet them again; and no man can be other than virtuous, who often reviews what has been, and often anticipates what is approaching. The thought of those whom we have lost gives us new interest in every thing which we remember them to have approved, in every good purpose in which they were engaged together with us, and in every virtue and excellence, which their friendship promoted; and it leads our attention to that world where they now exist, and from which we are parted by so thin a separation. With the objects of that world a feeling of reality is connected, when we believe that those exist there whom we have known and loved. There, if we live so as to deserve it, we shall again be with them; and he who in life has suffered the pain of separation from but a few such men as Mr. Buckminster, may, when his life shall terminate, have more and dearer friends to meet, than those he leaves behind.

I HAVE wished to preserve the two following testimonies of respect to the memory of Mr. Buckminster, which are perhaps less known than some others. If beside this reason, any

private feeling of regard or esteem have induced me to their selection, it is not necessary to offer it as an excuse. The first is from the valedictory oration, delivered at the last commencement of our university, by Mr. Charles Eliot, a member of the class who then commenced Masters of Arts. The mention of Mr. Buckminster, and an allusion to the late Dr. Eekley and Mr. Emerson were introduced in an address to the Governor of the Commonwealth, and the Overseers of the college, of whose body they were members.

“Tibi, [gubernatori,] et sociis, et curatoribus, bene florentis sevi litterarum sit gaudium. Vos doctrinae hujusce sedis et conservatores et Mæcenates estote. Sed dum vos aspicio, non sedes vacatas morte lugebo? Simeon non est—Josephus mortuus est—et Benjamin quoque eripitur. Heu magna lux nostra abest! Ille abest, qui quondam nec temere nec timide in omni pro litteris aut religione inter primos incessit! Certe manent qui bona et grandia volant agere et agent—sed ubi est alter Buckminster? Gloria nobis fuit! Ingens inter nos emicuit! Nobis manent desiderium, et memoria, et exemplum ejus: et restat etiam, ut, cum ille eruptus est, amicitia et consiliis arctius conjungeremur, et pro viribus nostris omnium bonorum damnum omnes supplere conemur.”

THE other passage which I shall give is from a discourse of the Rev. Mr. Colman, before the Humane Society of Massachusetts. It was delivered on the day of Mr. Buckminster's death. Mr. Colman had arrived in Boston without hearing of his illness, and was about to visit him, when he was met with the news that he was dying.

In the following extract he is addressing the members of the society:—

“The time is fast hastening, when death, from which we are so kindly solicitous to save others, shall seize upon us. This day, nay this hour, witnesses his awful ravages. This day has he robbed us of a beloved friend and brother; a highly valued, a highly respected officer of your institution, an important

and powerful auxiliary to the cause of humanity and religion. The tongue of the eloquent is mute. The eye, which beamed with celestial benignity, is sealed; and the flame of genius, of learning and of piety, that has blazed so splendidly among us, has left the earth, to mingle with those lights, which adorn with immortal brightness the heavenly regions. How interesting and glorious is the path, by which the righteous ascend to God!"

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

[The editor has been favored by a friend with the following extract of a letter, on the subject of painting and painters, from a countryman in England—a gentleman of whom our country has more than one reason to be proud. *Ed.*]

I HAVE delayed writing until now that, when I wrote, I might have somewhat wherewith to entertain you. On my arrival, (it being summer) I found nearly all the galleries shut; none being accessible excepting Mr. West's, and Lawrence and Beechey's: Turner's still remains closed; so that I have not had an opportunity to ascertain whether the high opinion, which I formerly entertained of him, ought to be confirmed or not. You will, no doubt, be pleased to hear that I found a very great and general improvement, among the English artists; or rather more properly speaking, in the English school; for such I think the distinctiveness and merits of their works will entitle them to be called, in spite of the sneers of their continental rivals. I know not whether they are conscious of any change in themselves; but to me, who have been so long absent, it appears to have been great; and, perhaps, should they even be sensible of it, they might still be in the dark as to its cause. As every revolution in taste is gradual, and produced by slow and intermittent causes, it will always be difficult to ascertain precisely how, or when it began. I think however, that the change I allude to, the effect of which is a higher finish and correctness, might have been in some measure accelerated, if not occasioned, by the happy efforts of one or two new artists, who successfully combined the here indis-

pensable requisites of colour and effect; with the qualities abovementioned. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that "unmeaning blots and random flourishes" are no longer allowed to pass for masterly execution, or as intended decoys for the imagination of the spectator. The subterfuge of thrusting a hand into a waistcoat pocket, or drowning a leg in shadow, like other juggling tricks, being once detected, is no longer admired; nay, such is the change, that however once despotic their dominion, the arbitrary reign of *octagonal* eyes and *quadrangular* noses has at length given way to the legitimate claims of the curves of nature. In short, they seem to have begun to think with lord Chesterfield, that "whatever is worth doing *at all*, is worth doing *well*;" and to supersede the necessity of sacrificing *subordinates*, by learning how to paint them.

It is unnecessary to observe, that the preceding observations do not apply to Mr. West; he not having had any of those defects to overcome, which have hitherto characterized the English artists. But I think you will be as much surprised, as pleased, to hear that, notwithstanding his advanced age, his improvement also has been such, as would have excited my astonishment, even in one just entering on the prime of life; and the more so, as it is in a part of the art, in which his deficiency was once considered by some too great to be atoned for by his other excellencies: I need not add that I speak of coloring. Whatever may have been his defect in this respect formerly, (though I think even in this, he had never sufficient credit allowed him,) he cannot now be charged with "spoiling his fine compositions with inharmonious colors." Nay, he ranks, in my opinion, decidedly as the first colorist living. I think I hear you say, 'eredat Judeus Apella, non ego.' But if you have faith in my judgment, it is even so. I will not say that he is always equal, or that every thing he now produces entitles him to this praise. Perhaps it may not be expected of human nature. But I will venture to say, that I could select from some of his late works, what no artist alive has equalled. I will mention one picture in particular, in

which is a cupid, (about the size of a child twelve years old) a female figure, and several other smaller cupids; the flesh of which approaches nearer to nature, than that of any other modern artist.

As it is not my business to write an essay, but a letter, I shall not trouble myself about its connexion; contenting myself with noting down as it occurs any thing relating to the art or artists, which I think may amuse you. The increase of knowledge produces a two fold effect; to enhance the value of some things, and to diminish that of others. I felt the first upon revisiting the gallery of Mr. West; and I could not avoid something of the last upon reentering that of Lawrence. I left England with a high opinion of his skill in drawing; with such however, I must confess, I have not returned. His heads, indeed, are all well drawn, and, what the French would call, admirably modelled. His hands too, with some exceptions, are equally intitled to praise. But he has one defect, which no good draughtsman would betray; his heads are never properly planted on their shoulders; I allude to his females. As to his coloring, though it is not offensive, it is yet very far from nature. Still, with all his defects, he is a painter of great merit; the vivacity and elegance of his attitudes could never emanate from a vulgar and ordinary mind.

But of all those artists, who have risen suddenly and early into notice, I knew no one that seems more likely to hold his ground than Wilkie. As his pictures are generally the fruits of daily observations on life, they will always carry with them that successive novelty which is the best fuel to reputation. He has been compared both to Teniers and Hogarth; but he is as unlike either, as they are to each other. With respect to Teniers, Wilkie is greatly his superior in every thing, excepting the general tone of color. By the way I acknowledge no very great veneration for Teniers. If figures that convey no distinct ideas of a particular individual, may be said to possess character, he has that in abundance; if not, (which is the case), he has none: and if we do not allow him character, we cannot grant him humor. Yet may not humor

be in circumstance, or incident? But even there he is without pretension; a group of old men smoking, a drunken boor, or a bagpiper surrounded by laughing clowns and country wenches, making the sum of his *histories*. His principle merit, as I observed before, consists in the general tone of his pictures; though from that, to judge rigidly, some deduction might be made; inasmuch as it is too often produced at the expense of the local color;—for instance, knowing that a certain proportion and disposition of *white, blue, grey, brown, and red*, kept transparent by working them over a dun ground, will make a silver tone, he seldom scruples to substitute for the proper hues of objects, either of these colors, according as it may be wanted in the places they occupy. You may censure me, perhaps, for not noticing his *handling*; but I have purposely omitted it, because I would not confound the *means* with the *end*. Whenever he discovers it as the *necessary cause* of a *true* effect, as in kettles, wooden stools, earthen ware, vegetables, and other objects of still life, I think it justly intitled to praise; but when, as sometimes happens, it not only not conduces to a more perfect representation, but changes the substance and character of objects, it becomes a lie, and should be valued accordingly.

As I cannot be suspected of envying a man who has been dead nearly two centuries, I have thus spoken of Teniers without reserve. I shall also stand acquitted, at least in your opinion, of seeking importance, by discovering flaws in a long established reputation.

After the above observations, I should be unjust to Wilkie, to compare him with Teniers. As to the resemblance, which some have discovered in his style, to that of Hogarth, I confess my inability to perceive it. The great excellency of Hogarth, is wit and satire; in which, if he does not stand alone, he is at least too preeminent to have a competitor. Considered merely as an artist, a *handler of paint*, he is much below many of the ordinary painters of his country; but it is as a philosopher, deeply read in the affections of men, and as a poet, qualified to comment on, and by the most vivid imagery

to illustrate them, that this extraordinary man should be viewed. That Hogarth himself was not unaware of his superior endowments, appears evident from the disdain, with which he treated the opinion, that he was a caricaturist. Neither do I think there is more justness in the notion, that he was a mere painter of manners; for, whatever the subject, I do not think we shall find either the dress, air, or attitude of his figures bearing any allusion, by their prominence, to any particular age or mode of society; on the contrary, though encumbered with the fantastic costume of his day, his characters are yet so completely independent of it, as to meet us like familiar personages of our present times. In this he resembles Shakespeare—who may be said rather to have embodied the affections, than to have drawn the portraits of men. Most other painters and poets think it sufficient to have found some incident or story, which shall furnish a certain quantity and variety of expression to render it interesting; giving themselves very little concern as to the fitness of the persons, on whom it is to be bestowed. But in Hogarth and Shakespeare, the story is subordinate, and seems rather to be created by, than for the personages, who are never ordinary men, selected by chance, and operated upon, as if by incidental occurrence; but distinct individuals, that show by their *physiognomical* expression a predisposed aptness to the occasion, and emotions as modified by the separate habitudes of their natures.

Having already stated that I cannot perceive a resemblance in Wilkie to Hogarth, it would be idle to institute a comparison between them. It may not be amiss, however, since they have been compared, to shew why I think them unlike; which may be satisfactorily done by simply stating the ends at which they aim. The object of Hogarth is to instruct and reform; of Wilkie to delight and amuse. The mode of Hogarth is, by embodying vice and folly, to call forth in a visible shape the evil spirits that lurk in the bosoms of men, and corrupt the purity of their hearts: Hence his characters are such as will, in all ages, remain true and familiar, so long as mankind shall

be subject to the same passions; in as much as they are in a two-fold capacity both the "rem," and the representation of the thing. The pictures of Wilkie, being the fruits of observation, delight us by a just representation of some amusing occurrence; some scene, if not actually taken from life, at least such as from its congruity seems to us likely to have occurred. Now the admirable manner in which he tells his story, with its effects, as produced in the various expressions of his figures, by their *justness* illustrating *that particular story*, is that in which I conceive to consist his chief excellence. And though his expressions cannot properly be called *physiognomical*, they are yet so just to the occasion, as to satisfy the spectator. That he has humor cannot be denied, but it is perhaps rather the humor of incident than of character; in other words, growing more out of situation, than of the "*vis comica*" of *physignomy*. I wish you to note here that I speak of him *generally*, or according to the usual character of his style; for I have seen exceptions in one or two of his pictures, that would not even dishonor the philosophical creation of Hogarth. I could, for instance, point out two: one a sot in his "village fair;" in which the physiognomical propensity to drunkenness is so powerful, that you could swear, not only his father, but his father's father's father, for five generations, had been all drunkards; in short that he was a sot by predestination: the other is a footman, who is waiting upon his master's tenants, feasting in the servants' hall (an indulgence usually granted them on rent days). He is in the act of drawing a cork, the bottle fixed between his knees; and, by the undisguised grimace produced on his countenance by the exertion, betrays the superlative contempt, in which he holds the company he is serving. No one could mistake in this figure that innate *valgarity*, which measures its insolence to inferiors, by the proportion of its meanness to superiors.

Lest I should be in danger of exceeding the usual limits of a letter, I will close this sketch of Wilkie, by a few remarks on his execution. As I have given the preference to Teniers for the general tone, so I must grant Wilkie the su-

periority, for the most part, in individual color; his still life is equally good, as is also (if that signified any thing) his handling; and if he is not excellent in tone, it may be said in his praise that he never sacrifices the local color in attempts to attain it: But I find myself unwittingly entering into a comparison, which I had professed to avoid. In a word therefore, to sum up his merits, though I cannot allow him to be now a good colorist, in the strict sense of the word, yet, from his rapid improvement in general, he seems fairly to promise soon to become one; in the mean time that, for his drawing, expression, and composition, he is justly entitled to rank among the first artists of his day.

I could wish here to add some account of Turner; but the length of the preceding remarks obliges me to defer it to my next.

ANALECTA.

Extracts from Gen. Burgoyne's account of his expedition.

AFTER his return to England, Gen. Burgoyne published an account of his expedition in this country for the purpose of his own justification.* A considerable part of the volume is occupied by the Evidence which was laid before the House of Commons. From his "Review of the Evidence," we give the following extract; which we think will be interesting to many of our readers.

* The title of this work is as follows:—"A state of the expedition from Canada, as laid before the House of Commons, by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and verified by evidence; with a collection of authentic documents, and an addition of many circumstances which were prevented from appearing before the House by the prorogation of Parliament. Written and collected by himself, and dedicated to the officers of the army he commanded." The second edition was published in 1780. It has become a scarce book.

"BESIDES the continuation of difficulties and general fatigue, this day* was remarkable for a circumstance of private distress too peculiar and affecting to be omitted. The circumstance to which I allude is Lady Harriet Ackland's passage through the enemy's army, to attend her wounded husband, then their prisoner.

"The progress of this lady with the army could hardly be thought abruptly or superfluously introduced, were it only so for the purpose of authenticating a wonderful story. It would exhibit, if well delineated, an interesting picture of the spirit, the enterprise, and the distress of romance, realized and regulated upon the chaste and sober principles of rational love and connubial duty.

"But I beg leave to observe besides, that it has direct reference to my subject, to shew what the luxuries were, with which (as the world has been taught to believe) the army was encumbered; what were the accommodations prepared for the *two thousand women* that are gravely supposed, in the cross examination, to have followed with the baggage. An idea so preposterous, as well as false, would have been a fitter subject for derision than refutation, but that it was maliciously intended; not, I am confident, by the member who asked the questions, but by the persons who imposed upon him, to effect by prejudice what they despaired of effecting by fact. Not content with cavilling at our pretensions of having *fought hard*, they would not allow the army even the claim upon the good-nature of the nation, of having *fared hard* for its service.

"I shall however consider part of this story as so far unconnected with the immediate business I was upon (pursuing the line of evidence upon the retreat to Saratoga) as to give it in the margin. It may well stand by itself; and I venture to think that this one example of patience, suffering, and fortitude, will be permitted to pass without censure or obloquy.†

[“Lady Harriet Ackland had accompanied her husband to Canada in the beginning of the year 1776. In the course

* The ninth of October, 1777.

† What was given in the margin is here placed in the text between brackets.

of that campaign she had traversed a vast space of country, in different extremities of season, and with difficulties that an European traveller will not easily conceive, to attend him, in a poor hut at Chamblée, upon his sick bed.

" In the opening of the campaign of 1777 she was restrained from offering herself to a share of the fatigue and hazard expected before Ticonderoga, by the positive injunctions of her husband. The day after the conquest of that place, he was badly wounded, and she crossed the Lake Champlain to join him.

" As soon as he recovered, Lady Harriet proceeded to follow his fortunes through the campaign, and at Fort Edward, or at the next camp, she acquired a two-wheel tumbril, which had been constructed by the artificers of the artillery, something similar to the carriage used for the mail upon the great roads of England. Major Ackland commanded the British grenadiers, which were attached to general Fraser's corps; and consequently were always the most advanced post of the army. Their situations were often so alert, that no person slept out of their cloaths. In one of these situations a tent, in which the Major and Lady Harriet were asleep suddenly took fire. An orderly sergeant of grenadiers, with great hazard of suffocation, dragged out the first person he caught hold of. It proved to be the Major. It happened, that in the same instant she had, unknowing what she did, and perhaps not perfectly awake, providentially made her escape, by creeping under the walls of the back part of the tent. The first object she saw, upon the recovery of her senses, was the Major on the other side, and in the same instant again in the fire, in search of her. The sergeant again saved him, but not without the Major being very severely burned in his face and different parts of the body. Every thing they had with them in the tent was consumed.

" This accident happened a little before the army passed the Hudson river. It neither altered the resolution nor the cheerfulness of Lady Harriet; and she continued her progress, a partaker of the fatigues of the advanced corps. The next

call upon her fortitude was of a different nature, and more distressful, as of longer suspense. On the march of the nineteenth, the grenadiers being liable to action at every step, she had been directed by the Major to follow the route of the artillery and baggage, which was not exposed. At the time the action began she found herself near a small uninhabited hut, where she alighted. When it was found the action was becoming general and bloody, the surgeons of the hospital took possession of the same place, as the most convenient for the first care of the wounded. Thus was this lady in hearing of one continued fire of cannon and musketry, for four hours together, with the presumption, from the post of her husband at the head of the grenadiers, that he was in the most exposed part of the action. She had three female companions, the Baroness of Reidesel, and the wives of two British officers, Major Harnage and Lieutenant Reynell; but in the event their presence served but little for comfort. Major Harnage was soon brought to the surgeons, very badly wounded; and a little time after came intelligence that Lieutenant Reynell was shot dead. Imagination will want no helps to figure the state of the whole group.

" From the date of that action to the seventh of October, Lady Harriet, with her usual serenity, stood prepared for new trials! and it was her lot that their severity increased with their numbers. She was again exposed to the hearing of the whole action, and at last received the shock of her individual misfortune, mixed with the intelligence of the general calamity, the troops were defeated, and Major Ackland, desperately wounded, was a prisoner.

" The day of the eighth was passed by Lady Harriet and her companions in common anxiety, not a tent, nor a shed being standing, except what belonged to the hospital, their refuge was among the wounded and the dying.]

" When the army was upon the point of moving after the halt described, I received a message from Lady Harriet, submitting to my decision a proposal (and expressing an earnest solicitude to execute it, if not interfering with my designs) of

passing to the camp of the enemy, and requesting General Gates's permission to attend her husband.

" Though I was ready to believe (for I had experienced) that patience and fortitude, in a supreme degree, were to be found, as well as every other virtue, under the most tender forms, I was astonished at this proposal. After so long an agitation of spirits, exhausted not only for want of rest, but absolutely want of food, drenched in rains for twelve hours together, that a woman should be capable of such an undertaking as delivering herself to the enemy, probably in the night, and uncertain of what hands she might first fall into, appeared an effort above human nature. The assistance I was enabled to give was small indeed; I had not even a cup of wine to offer her; but I was told she had found from some kind and fortunate hand, a little rum and dirty water. All I could furnish to her was an open boat and a few lines, written upon dirty wet paper, to General Gates, recommending her to his protection.

" Mr. Brudenell, the chaplain to the artillery (the same gentleman who had officiated so signally at General Fraser's funeral), readily undertook to accompany her, and with one female servant, and the Major's valet-de-chambre (who had a ball which he had received in the late action then in his shoulder) she rowed down the river to meet the enemy. But her distresses were not yet to end. The night was advanced before the boat reached the enemy's out-posts, and the sentinel would not let it pass, nor even come on shore. In vain Mr. Brudenell offered the flag of truce, and represented the state of the extraordinary passenger. The guard, apprehensive of treachery, and punctilious to their orders, threatened to fire into the boat if it stirred before day-light. Her anxiety and suffering were thus protracted through seven or eight dark and cold hours; and her reflections upon that first reception could not give her very encouraging ideas of the treatment she was afterwards to expect. But it is due to justice at the close of this adventure to say, that she was received and accommodat-

ed by General Gates with all the humanity and respect that her rank, her merits, and her fortunes deserved.

"Let such as are affected by these circumstances of alarm, hardship, and danger, recollect that the subject of them was a woman; of the most tender and delicate frame; of the gentlest manners; habituated to all the soft elegances, and refined enjoyments, that attend high birth and fortune; and far advanced in a state in which the tender cares, always due to the sex, become indispensably necessary. Her mind alone was formed for such trials."

From Gen. Burgoyne's "Review of the Evidence" we extract likewise the following account of the funeral of Gen. Fraser. The first part of it is striking and solemn.

"About sun set the corpse of General Fraser was brought up the hill, attended only by the officers who had lived in his family. To arrive at the redoubt, it passed within view of the greatest part of both armies. Général Phillips, General Reidesel, and myself, who were standing together, were struck with the humility of the procession: They who were ignorant that privacy had been requested, might construe it neglect. We could neither endure that reflection, nor indeed restrain our natural propensity to pay our last attention to his remains. The circumstances that ensued cannot be better described than they have been by different witnesses. The incessant cannonade during the solemnity; the steady attitude and unaltered voice with which the chaplain officiated, though frequently covered with dust, which the shot threw upon all sides of him; the mute, but expressive mixture of sensibility and indignation upon every countenance: these objects will remain to the last of life upon the minds of every man who was present. The growing duskiness added to the scenery, and the whole marked a character of that junture that would make one of the finest subjects for the pencil of a master that the field ever exhibited.—To the canvass and to the faithful page of a more important historian, gallant friend! I consign

thy memory. There may thy talents, thy manly virtues, their progress and their period, find due distinction; and long may they survive;—long after the frail record of my pen shall be forgotten.”

“I never,” says Lieut. Col. Kingston, in his evidence, after giving an account of the scene similar to the above, “I never saw so affecting a sight.” And this simple expression of remembered feeling comes with more force to our minds, than the somewhat too ambitious conclusion of the preceding extract. It ought to be mentioned, in justice to our countrymen, that the Earl of Harrington, in his evidence, gives it as his opinion that the firing was accidental, and “proceeded from the enemy’s seeing a number of people together.”

From Gilbert Wakefield.

“*Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.*

“Which,” says G. Wakefield, “shall we pronounce the more predominant feature in this striking picture of the Supreme Being—the *affection* of the *Parent*, or the *power* of the *Creator*?—And what less, suffer me to ask, what less could utter such glad and awful tidings to mankind, than a voice from the oracle of the *sanctuary, the bosom of God himself?*

“‘God,’ says Newton, ‘is all EYE, and EAR, and SENSE.’ But this prince of philosophers, this glory, not of our nation only, but our species, refined his notions of the divinity from the favorite volume of his meditations; that volume which had declared, that a *sparrow*, nay, even a *hair of the head* could not fall to the ground without vibrating through the remotest corner of God’s creation.”

REVIEW.

Nec vero haec sine sorte date, sine judice, sedes.—Virg.

ARTICLE 4.

Geological and Mineralogical Papers.

In the following review we shall notice several papers on the geology and mineralogy of our country, which have appeared in the transactions of different societies. We had hoped to preface these notices with some general account of the state of those sciences in our country, but we have not been able to collect the requisite information to make such an account complete. These studies have attracted considerable attention among us. Our country has been explored by different mineralogists, particularly by Mr. Maclure. According to him, its geology is peculiarly simple; and there is not that confusion and intermixture of different rocks, which is to be observed in almost every part of Europe.* He has given it as his opinion, that in a few years, the geology of the New continent will be better understood than that of the old.† Lectures on the sciences of which we are speaking are regularly delivered in Boston and Philadelphia, and at Columbia, Yale, Harvard,

* La variété confuse et fatigante des diverses roches dans presque tout les parties de l'Europe, où j'ai occasion de les examiner, lasse la patience, et met en défaut toutes conjectures; au lieu que sur ce continent-ci, on peut raisonner *a priori*, et conclure, sans grand risque de tromper, qu'en tel et tel lieu, telles et telles roches se trouveront. [Letter to J. C. Delamétherie, upon the geology of the United States, published in the *Journal de Physique*, vol. 69, p. 201.]

† Je suis cependant porté à croire dans ce moment, que sous peu d'années nous aurons une connoissance plus complète de la géologie de ce continent, que vous n'en avez de celle du continent de l'Europe. See Letter, &c. as above, p. 203.

and Bowdoin colleges, and probably at some others. Cabinets of minerals of considerable value have been collected in different places. That of Harvard University contains a number of rare and valuable specimens, the gifts of Dr. Lettsom of London, and of the National Convention of France. A valuable cabinet is likewise the property of Yale college, and colonel Gibbs has lately deposited in that seminary a very rich collection, the original cost of which, to the European proprietor, is said to have been four thousand pounds sterling. There is also a cabinet at Bowdoin college, which has many specimens of our native minerals, and which has lately been enriched by a collection made in France, and arranged partly under the inspection of the Abbé Haüy, formerly the property of the late Mr. Bowdoin of Boston. Numerous other cabinets of various value, both public and private, are to be found in different parts of the country. A valuable Mineralogical Journal has been commenced by Dr. Bruce of New York, and we hope will be continued. From this, and from the Medical Repository, and perhaps from some other works, as well as from the papers which we are about to notice, various information may be collected respecting the geology and mineralogy of our country.

MEMOIRS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY.

No. XXIII. *Mineralogical observations made in the environs of Boston, &c. By S. Godon.*

SEVERAL considerations render this an interesting paper. The observations indeed embrace but a small extent of territory, *the environs of Boston*. But M. Godon very pertinently remarks in the introduction, that "these local observations become even worthy of general attention, when we consider that from the insulated descriptions of several parts of the earth, we may expect in time an universal mineralogical map, which will afford in some measure, under a single point of view, a representation of all the (mineral) riches in the world." By limiting the extensive views, expressed in the foregoing

remark, we shall probably be able to form a more correct estimate of the value of communications, similar to the one under consideration. We may then say, that a few such local observations combined will enable us to prepare a mineralogical map of Massachusetts; a few more will give us a similar view of New England; and thus, without being discouraged by the magnitude of the undertaking, we shall almost insensibly attain to a mineralogical map of the United States. This paper has also a local interest, from being the first publication of mineralogical observations in this state; and with the author we are inclined to anticipate, that these observations will be extended by the citizens of Massachusetts, "whose increasing taste for mineralogy presages a flourishing period for this science."

For the present state of mineralogical knowledge in this vicinity, we believe the public are under no inconsiderable obligations to M. Godon. He has excited a spirit of mineralogical research by his public lectures, and by communicating somewhat of his own ardor and accuracy of observation.

In the true spirit of a practical mineralogist, whose chief object, in the present state of the science, is to accumulate facts, M. Godon expresses his fears of leaning to any geological system so far, as to permit his observations to be thereby influenced. If at any time he ventures to offer a hypothetical remark, it is expressed with great modesty and diffidence. We wish these good feelings had been able to shield him from a very dangerous attack of that epidemic among system makers; a disposition to invent new names. M. Godon appears to be impressed with the idea, that the peculiar aspect of certain rocks in this country renders a change of nomenclature necessary. We differ from him in believing the proposed changes both unnecessary and perplexing to the student. But, granting the existence of numerous imperfections in the present nomenclature of rocks, we are by no means ready to admit the propriety of introducing changes in the present state of the science, unless absolutely necessary. Observations are daily accumulating; and our knowledge, or rather opinions, must

vary with increasing facts. If this liberty of unceasing change in names be tolerated, our list of synonyma, already too long, will become insupportable. When new substances are discovered, it is certainly necessary to make additions to the nomenclature; but when the progress of discovery meets only new varieties of substances, already known, which may render the received name imperfect, we think the interest of the science requires, that these new varieties should stand under the received name, and that description rather than the fabrication of new words should be the present remedy.

The changes, which M. Godon has proposed, appear to us unnecessary, because no new species or sort of rock is described. It must here be remarked, that the word *species* cannot be applied to aggregated minerals in so rigorous a sense as to simple minerals. It is true M. Godon may have observed in some particular species of rock well known, an accidental ingredient or variety of aggregation, somewhat uncommon in that kind of rock. But surely the accidental occurrence of any simple mineral in an aggregate cannot entitle that aggregate to a new name. If every imperfection or casual variety observed in aggregate minerals is to claim and receive a new name, the nomenclature will become endless. Those, who have made some progress in the science, will become discouraged; and the pupil will turn back at the threshold. But we must proceed to a brief analysis of the paper.

After a short introduction, the writer gives us 'Definitions and preliminary explanations' in which some of the proposed changes of nomenclature are mentioned. Then follow notices of alluvial deposits and waters. With the exception of a few alluvial deposits of sand and clay, the environs of Boston, and indeed the greater part of Massachusetts, are entirely primitive. "The country is not mountainous, but its surface is largely and often deeply undulated. The springs, which arise from the most elevated part of the ground, often unite in basins, sometimes surrounded by hills, and form a multitude of ponds, which contribute to the embellishment of the landscape." Most of the waters, which issue in springs at the surface of

the ground, are impregnated with some foreign principle; as carbonic acid, the carbonates of lime and iron, sulphate of magnesia, &c. To the proportion of clay, existing in the alluvial soil, on which Boston is built, the inhabitants of that town are indebted for the goodness of their waters. This clay prevents the infiltration of sea-water.

The variety of minerals in the vicinity of Boston, though not numerous, is interesting. The first mineral described is the *amphiboloid*. We are now to say

Amphiboloid of Godon.

Roche Amphibolique of Haüy.

Grunstein, Graustein of Werner.

Are we uncharitable in believing that the above list of synonyms of Godon, and Haüy, and Werner discloses one powerful motive, which influenced M. Godon to introduce his changes in nomenclature? Amphiboloid is thus defined: "an aggregation, most frequently of amphibole and felspar, admitting in its composition quartz, epidote, talc, mica, and almost always sulphurated iron. Amphibole (hornblende) which characterizes this rock, is supposed to be the predominant substance." Now this is precisely the same rock, which others have described under the names of amphibolic rock and greenstone. They also say, that it occasionally admits in its composition foreign substances, as above mentioned. Whence then the necessity of a new name? Amphiboloid is distributed by M. Godon into no less than eight or nine different species; and all these specific distinctions are founded on the variable size or peculiar arrangement of the ingredients, or on the accidental intrusion of some foreign body.

The first species is the common amphiboloid.

The second is the granitic amphiboloid. This has received its specific name from being "perfectly analogous to the black granite of the Italians." The two elements present irregular black and white spots; and the stone is susceptible of a good polish.

The third species is the trappine amphiboloid; because it resembles the trap of the Swedes. The felspar and amphi-

hole (hornblende) are so blended, that it is difficult to distinguish them.

The fourth is the porphyritic amphiboloid. This arises from the intermixture of large crystals of felspar in any of the other species of amphiboloid.

The fifth species is the epidotic amphiboloid. M. Godon seems to think epidote characteristic of the amphiboloids of this country. But amphiboloid (*Roche amphibolique*) containing epidote has been observed in the Loire-Inférieure, and the Isère, two departments of France, and probably in other parts of the eastern continent. (See *Journal des Mines*, Nos. 116, and 125.) This species of amphiboloid forms a very handsome stone, of a dark green color, susceptible of a good polish, and often resembles the Egyptian basalt, employed by the ancients in making busts and statues. This species is sometimes porphyritic, and is then analogous to the *porfido verde antico—ophites* of the Greeks.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth species are the quartzose, micaaceous, and talcous amphiboloids, because they respectively contain quartz, mica, or talc.

The amphiboloid passes into the next mineral described, which is the

Felsparoid of Godon.

Roche Felspathique de Haüy.

Syenit of Werner.

The felsparoid M. Godon divides into four species; the common, the quartzose, the epidotic, and the granitic. According to the principles, by which amphiboloid and felsparoid are subdivided into species, we see not why granite, containing garnets, or schorl, should not constitute two distinct species, denominated garnitic granite, and *schorlous* granite. In this way a fine family of granites might be ushered into existence in a few hours.

Felsparoid passes into petrosilex; a rock, which, though usually described as a simple mineral, M. Godon is inclined to class among aggregates. He supposes the simple minerals, which compose it, may exist in a state of such tenuity, as to

be invisible to the eye. Petrosilex he divides into simple and porphyritic; and the simple into several species, one of which he calls novaeular, and remarks that it is sometimes exactly analogous to the Turkey-stone, and that "this part of Massachusetts could supply the whole United States with this kind of mineral, which is sold at a pretty high price in commerce."* Much confusion has been introduced into mineralogy by the term petrosilex; and it is really difficult to determine what minerals some writers intend to include under it. We are not prepared to speak with much certainty concerning the minerals, which M. Godon denominates petrosilex, never having seen all their varieties. He remarks that "most of the different varieties of petrosilex known are found in Massachusetts, and possess an intimate analogy with the felspath-porphyre and klingstein porphyre of Werner." If M. Godon has found the klingstein porphyre of Werner in a primitive soil, it is an important fact; as the disciples of Werner pertinaciously insist, that this belongs to secondary rocks, or the fluetz trap formation, as they call it. Petrosilex passes into argilloid (clay slate of Werner). A specimen of this M. Godon analyzed, and found in it small quantities of soda and potash.

The next mineral described, M. Godon calls wacke, and gives for a synonyme (wacke, Werner). It is thus defined:—"A conglutination of orbicular, elliptical, and sometimes angular kernels or nodules of all sizes, commonly of the same nature, as the primordial rocks above mentioned, particularly felsparoid, petrosilex, argilloid, and quartz." These nodules "have sometimes more than a foot diameter. Sometimes the kernels present an uniform and progressive size down to that of sand-stone."

M. Godon has certainly confounded the wacke and grauwacke of Werner. Wacke is a simple mineral, homogeneous in appearance; whereas the foregoing description applies tolerably well to grau-wacke. This is certainly a remarkable

* Some of our readers may not know that the Turkey stone is used as a whetstone.

and interesting mineral. M. Gedon believes it a primitive rock. He considers "the freshness of the substances, which form the elements of its kernels, when the internal part of it is opened, and their rapid decomposition, when in contact with air and water," sufficient evidence, that it has not been "formed by a union of the fragments of primordial rocks, rounded by friction, transported and deposited by waters, and joined or soldered together by a secondary operation." If it be a true grau-wacke, it cannot be primitive. M. Gedon says it corresponds to the pudding of Valorsine, described by Desausseur. The rock of Valorsine however is certainly not primitive, but transition, being formed from the fragments of primitive rocks.* We hope this rock will receive farther attention, with a view to ascertain whether its nodules be united by any cement, whether it be stratified, &c. The result of a sufficient examination, we have no doubt, will determine that it is not grau-wacke, or, if it be, that it is not a primitive rock.

The last mineral described is amygdaloid. "This rock is analogous to the toadstone of the English. When of great compactness, it is susceptible of a fine polish."

Thus we find amphiboloid, felspareid, petrosilex, argilloid, wacke, (grau-wacke) and amygdaloid embrace the principal rocks, found in the environs of Boston. In conclusion, M. Gordon remarks, that the environs of Boston include almost every stone, which had celebrity among the people of Asia, Greece, and Italy. Few of the metals are here found. "But some other substances found here may be employed in society; one mineral, which may replace the Turkey-stone; another [chlorite earth], which may be used in painting; and a set of rocks, susceptible of an high polish, fit for elegant ornaments, and which may even form articles of export, when some process of cutting and polishing them in a large and cheap way shall be found."

* On doit regarder aussi comme de véritables grau-wackes, ces poudingues formés de débris de roches primitives, que l'on rencontre dans plusieurs endroits de la chaîne des Alpes, et principalement près de Valorsine, aux environs du Mont Blanc, où le célèbre Desaussure en a observé des masses énormes en couches verticales, de près de douze cents toises d'élévation. [Voyez Min. de Brochant. Tom. ii. p. 590.]

In the tabular view, affixed to this paper, we observe the words *smeaky, gung, garnat.*

PHILADELPHIA TRANSACTIONS.

No. XLVI. *An Account of the Freestone Quarries on the Potomac, &c. By B. H. Latrobe.*

Mr. LATROBE informs us, that it was his intention to offer to the society a series of geological papers on the state of Virginia. The execution of this has been delayed and partly defeated, by the loss of a collection of minerals, intended as illustrations. He is even now under the necessity of communicating his mineralogical observations in the form of unconnected papers. These papers, he informs us, "will contain the facts collectively, proving beyond doubt, that a line, drawn along the falls of our rivers, is the ancient line of our sea coast, from New York to the southwest; as it still is from New York to the northeastward, and that the water of the ocean rose, perpendicularly, at least one hundred and twenty feet higher along the ancient coast, than it rises along our present coast."

The present Memoir describes the quarries of freestone, [sandstone] situated on the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers; from the former of which was quarried the stone, employed in constructing the public buildings at Washington. This range of sandstone commences on the west side of the Potomac, not far from Mount Vernon, where the river bends to the southwest; and, following the direction of the river, till it again bends to the eastward, passes under the ridge, which separates the Potomac and Rappahannock, crosses the latter river, and extends about two miles westward of it.

Mr. Latrobe takes occasion, we do not however see what, to introduce the following note: "The courses of N. 40° E. and S. 60° E. form a spherical angle, at which, with occasional, but never very great variation, the two principal planes of rhomboidal crystallization, not only of our rocks of every

description—granite, slate, marble, limestone, wacke, and of all those numerous and ambiguous genera of rocks, lying in character, between a distinct granite on one side, and homogeneous basaltes on the other, intersect each other, but which decide the position—I had almost ventured to say the crystallization of the constituent parts of the globe, from the equator to the pole, and from the Mississippi at least to the Atlantic. On inspection of any map of North America, especially if drawn on Mercator's principle, this fact is evident to the eye." If the foregoing note really conceal any important truths, we hope Mr. Latrobe will give an explanation of it; for we confess ourselves utterly unable at present to comprehend a single sentence.

The component parts of this sandstone are principally sand, which is most commonly sharp; clay, usually in nodules; pebbles of quartz, granite, &c.; pyrites; iron ore in nodules; and carbonated wood. The clay and the iron are troublesome ingredients, and very much diminish the value of the stone. Its colors are white and brown of different shades. Sp. Grav. when dry, about 2,000.

This stone does by no means appear to us well adapted for a building stone, although it has been employed for such important purposes. Its power of absorbing moisture is very considerable. In one experiment a cubic foot of this stone, absorbed twenty one pounds of water in twenty four hours. The stone is of course constantly changing its dimensions, expanding or contracting according to the ever-changing state of the atmosphere. Mr. Latrobe says, "window and door sashes, [sills] which are confined at both ends, and free in the middle, generally break, and the fissure opens and shuts alternately, to the amount, when open, of one tenth of an inch, in a block of six feet." This expansion is somewhat counteracted by the superincumbent weight of the walls of a heavy building; but even here, if the block be at liberty at one end, the joints of the work open and shut according to the state of the weather. This rock often crumbles, in consequence of mere exposure to the sun and air; especially if rapidly dried,

after being taken from the quarry. Blocks have been quarried, weighing two hundred and forty tons. From certain peculiarities in the appearance of the stratification, Mr. Latrèbe is induced to believe, that the wind has been the agent in accumulating the sand, which, becoming indurated, forms the stone here described.

PHILADELPHIA TRANSACTIONS.

No. L. Observations to serve for the Mineralogical Map of the State of Maryland. By S. Godon.

THE observations contained in this paper relate to that portion of the state of Maryland, situated between Baltimore and the city of Washington. This tract is remarkably barren in vegetable productions, and uninteresting to the mineralogist, except as forming a part of that vast alluvial deposit, extending on the sea coast from Long Island to the Mississippi. The only mineral here found, is a ferruginous sandstone, forming a stratum from six lines to a foot or more in thickness.

"Washington city is built on the alluvial land; but Rock Creek, which separates this capital from Georgetown, appears to present the boundary line between the primitive and alluvial soil." Above Rock Creek, on the eastern bank of the Potomac, the primitive soil appears in gneiss and green-stone. In the bed of the Potomac are found fragments of a very singular mineral, brought down by the waters. M. Godon describes it as "an amygdaloid of a dark color, including globules of a substance sometimes white, sometimes of a fine rose-color. In the centre of these globules, another substance, of a fibrous texture, and of a fine green color, often occurs. This substance seems to be epidote. These several substances are disposed in the rock in a very elegant manner."

PHILADELPHIA TRANSACTIONS.

No. LXII. *Observations on the Geology of the United States;*
&c. By W. Maclure.

DISTINCTIVE lines between geology and mineralogy, as different branches, have become perfectly well defined. Although a successful pursuit of geological inquiries necessarily presupposes an acquaintance with mineralogy, yet the possession of a very considerable share of mineralogical knowledge may be obtained without any attention to geology. We here employ the term geology in its modern signification. Its researches are confined to the earthy crust, which envelopes our globe. It observes the various aggregate minerals, which go to compose this crust, their extent, position, direction, stratification, relative situation, and relative heights or supraposition: It regards classes or formations of rocks of the same sort, without descending to notice, except for some occasional purpose, the various minerals, which may be disseminated in them.

It is but a short time since the just and universally received rules of philosophy have been applied in exploring the mineral kingdom. No one seems to have thought of establishing a system by induction from observation. Theories either preceded observation, or the theorist remained satisfied with the labors of the closet, and the sportiveness of his own imagination. But within a few years the attention of philosophers has been devoted to the observation and accumulation of geological facts. In this, as it has been in other branches of science, theories will be offered the public before a sufficient number of facts have been collected. But it is perhaps true, that systems, if only partially correct, are on the whole not without their advantages in the infancy of any science. They stimulate to inquiry, whether with design to support or oppose. The only evil to be apprehended from premature systems arises from the undue bias, which they may produce on the mind, while observing facts.

Mr. Maclure, the author of this paper, is one of the most

indefatigable geologists of the present day; and we hope this is but the first fruits of his geological inquiries. Mr. Maclure has repeatedly examined the soil of the United States in nearly its whole extent. He has also inspected many of the more interesting mineral districts in Europe, where he is now employed in completing his observations.

Our attention will be devoted chiefly to the author's mode of observing, and an abstract of the present state of our knowledge of the geology of the United States. To complete our intended view of Mr. Maclure's geological researches in the United States we shall be under the necessity of making some use of another paper, published by the same author, and relative to the same subject.*

Mr. Maclure has adopted the nomenclature of Werner, for which he assigns two reasons. "1st, Because it is the most perfect and extensive in its general outlines. 2dly, The nature and relative situation of the minerals in the United States, which are certainly the most extensive of any field yet examined, may perhaps be found to be the most correct elucidation of the general exactitude of that theory, as respects the relative position of the different series of rocks." Mr. Maclure does by no means appear attached to any favorite system, nor to possess a servile regard for any master. He thus writes. "In adopting the nomenclature of Werner I do not mean to enter into the origin or first creation of the different substances, or into the nature or properties of the agents, which may have subsequently modified or changed the appearance and form of those substances; I am equally ignorant of the relative periods of time, in which those modifications or changes may have taken place. All that I mean by a formation is a mass of substances, whether adhesive, as rocks; or separate, as sand and gravel; uniform and similar in their structure and relative position, occupying extensive ranges, with few or no interpolations of the rocks, belonging to another series, class, or formation."

In his geological inquiries Mr. Maclure has not proceeded,

* Suite des observations sur la Géologie des Etats-Unis servant à l'application de la Carte ci-jointe—published in the Journal de Physique:

as is usual in other branches of science, from the observation, collection, and arrangement of particulars to the formation of general maxims or laws. He has not selected a limited portion of the earth's surface, minutely examined the various rocks, which there present themselves, the arrangement of their component parts, their various accidental changes, &c; and then, by combining many of these limited portions, endeavoured to deduce general facts and constant laws. On the other hand, he has first attempted to delineate the outlines, to trace the limits, which separate the principal classes of rocks; and to mark their situation and relative extent. In doing this however, the determination of the different sorts of rocks, embraced in each formation, has been subjected to general principles, previously established and admitted. To adopt this inverted mode he was induced by the following reasons. First, in proceeding from the minute examination of particulars to general facts, the immense variety of rocks, and the imperceptible gradation, by which they pass into each other, necessarily produce minute and tedious description. Volumes would be necessary to describe the different rocks found within a small extent of some primitive formations, and to detail the changes, which the same rocks present, while passing a little to the right or left. But to trace the exterior limits only of different formations, or classes of rocks, a few pages are sufficient, and enable the reader fully to understand their relative situations. Secondly, when small portions of the earth's surface are thus minutely examined, the observer can hardly avoid fracturing a system, which, though perfectly well adapted to the territory under examination, is totally inapplicable to other districts. This difficulty arises entirely from a want of general views.

We confess we were at first somewhat alarmed at the consequences, which might result from this unphilosophical mode of proceeding. And we are still of opinion, that it must be admitted under certain limitations. If it be employed merely for the purpose of obtaining general views, preparatory to a more minute investigation, we think it decidedly advantageous.

When different and extensive strata intersect each other; when the stratification is broken and discontinued; when certain portions of a formation are inaccessible; when superincumbent strata have become disintegrated by the gradual action of air and moisture, or removed by the force of torrents or rivers, thereby producing confusion of strata in consequence of presenting an artificial arrangement, we think a general view, previously acquired, will save much vexation and fruitless labor. In this way also anomalies either in composition or arrangement will be more easily determined. But in the hands of a geologist less persevering, and less ardent, than Mr. MacLure, we should apprehend that the liberty of dealing in general views would terminate in a series of superficial observations, and a careless theory.

After some general remarks on the structure, Mr. MacLure describes the boundaries, extent, and relative situation of the four grand formations of rocks, as found in the United States; the alluvial, primitive, transition, and secondary formations. The reader is much assisted in the description by the geological chart, annexed to this paper; in which the four abovementioned formations are delineated in different colors.

The mineral masses of the United States are characterized by the great extent, uniformity of structure and regularity of stratification of individual formations. Thus magnetic iron ore, which we find in Franconia, New Hampshire, occasionally makes its appearance, as in the vicinity of Phillips-town, on the Hudson, and at Ringwood, New Jersey, with the same direction of stratification, till it disappears near Blackwater; a range of nearly three hundred miles. A formation of red sandstone extends, with but few intervals, from the Connecticut to the Rappahannoe. Several other similar instances might be cited. No volcanic productions have been found east of the Mississippi.

The great alluvial formation commences with Long Island,* and on the southeast is bounded by the ocean; to the

* Mr. MacLure has delineated the northern half of Long Island as primitive, and the southern half alluvial. Dr. Mitchell of New York has a paper in the third number of Bruce's Mineralogical Journal, on the ge-

Mississippi. Its interior boundary is marked by a line from near Amboy, passing by Trenton, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Fredricksburg, Richmond, Smithfield in North Carolina, Augusta on Savannah river, Fort Hawkins on Ocmulgee river, Hawkinetown on Flint river, and thence a little south of west across the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers to the Mississippi, a little below the Natchez. Concerning the rivers of the United States, which empty into the Atlantic Mr. Maclure remarks thus: "Tide water in all the rivers from the Mississippi to the Roanoke stops at a distance from thirty to one hundred and twenty miles short of the western limits of the alluvial; from the Appomattox to the Delaware, the tide penetrates through the alluvial, and is only stopped by the primitive ridge. The Hudson is the only river in the United States where the tide passes through the alluvial, primitive, transition, and into the secondary; in all the northern and eastern rivers, the tide runs a small distance only into the primitive formation."

The next formation, proceeding from the ocean toward the lakes, is the primitive. To the eastward of the Hudson the soil is, with a few exceptions, entirely primitive, and on one side is washed by the sea. This formation diminishes in width, while passing through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland; but in Virginia it very much enlarges its breadth. Westward of the Hudson, its visible boundary on the southeast is the aforementioned alluvial deposit; but it undoubtedly extends more or less under the alluvial. Its northwestern boundary is marked by a line, which commences* to the eastward of Lake Champlain, and about twenty five miles westward of Connecticut river; thence passes near Stockbridge; and a little to the eastward of Poughkeepsie; skirts the high-
ology of Long Island; in which he assigns reasons for believing nearly the whole of Long Island to be *alluvial*. He thinks the only primitive strata are at Hurlgate, forming a mere margin of the shore for four or five miles.

* The northeastern extremity of the United States, including the greater part of the District of Maine, has not yet been examined.

lands; crosses the Hudson at Phillipsburg; passes near Sparta in New Jersey; a little to the eastward of Eastown on the Delaware, and of Reading on the Schuylkill; joins the Blue Ridge not far from Middleton on the Susquehannah, and continues with it to Magothy Gap; thence near Austinville, in a southwest direction, until it meets the alluvial near the Alabama river. The strata of this primitive range vary in direction from N. and S. to N. E. and S. W. and almost universally dip to the S. E. at an angle of more than 45° .

Northwest of the primitive lies the transition formation, extending from a little to the eastward of Lake Champlain, to near the Alabama river; and in general from twenty to forty miles in breadth. The direction of the strata is the same, as in the primitive; but it dips to the northwest: usually at an angle less than 45° . In addition to limestone, grau-wacke, &c. usually found in this formation, Mr. Maclure informs us, that it contains many rocks, not hitherto named or described.

Northwest of the transition lies the secondary formation, extending from the Hudson to the Mississippi, and from the transition formation just mentioned to the lakes. Mr. Maclure thinks there is good reason for believing that this formation extends westward of the Mississippi nearly to the foot of the Stony Mountains. If this be the case, we have here a secondary deposit, covering an extent of surface of about 1500 by 1200 miles; equal, if not superior in extent to any hitherto observed.

Such is a general view of the four grand formations of rocks, which form the surface of the United States. We have not room to notice a few exceptions, in which transition or secondary rocks are found within the limits given to the primitive formation; nor to describe the different kinds of rocks, which compose each of these extensive general formations.

We cannot forbear to notice the very careless punctuation and division of sentences, which appear in this paper. One would suppose it, in many places, a mere transcript of the author's travelling notes, rather than a memoir, prepared by their assistance.

MEMOIRS OF THE CONNECTICUT ACADEMY.

No. IV. *Sketch of the Mineralogy of the town of New-Haven.*
By B. Silliman.

WHEN the attention of philosophers is indiscriminately directed to all the objects of general science, there is no reason to expect any very important results. To effect much, some particular department of knowledge must be selected; some definite object must confine the attention. But, when there is no decided preponderance in favor of any particular object of research, the mind will remain quietly glancing from one object to another, as casually presented to view, till some external motive excite to increased activity. It was therefore a very useful and expedient measure of the Connecticut Academy to stimulate and direct inquiry by proposing questions and defining objects of research. This paper is in answer to one of these questions.

While communicating the valuable observations, contained in this paper, we must avail ourselves of additional information, relative to the same minerals, contained in a second paper, recently read before the Connecticut Academy by Professor Silliman, and published in the third number of Dr. Bruce's Mineralogical Journal.

The city of New-Haven is situated on the southern side of a plain, whose mean diameter is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 miles. This plain is entirely alluvial; and has, within the memory of gentlemen now living, encroached on the waters of the harbor. It is composed of siliceous sand and gravel in strata nearly parallel. This sand, which varies in size from a pebble of an inch or two in diameter to that of a grain, has arisen from the disintegration of the surrounding high land, and been conveyed by the waters to its present deposit. Flint, jasper, agate, sappare (cyanite), &c. are occasionally found in it. The only rock formation, which exists in this plain, is a friable sandstone, composed of the same materials, as the loose sand.

This plain is surrounded on all sides, excepting the S. and

S. W. where it meets the water, by a circular range of hills, rising in two instances to a very considerable altitude. This range of hills is composed principally of secondary greenstone, reposing on red sandstone, which is very coarse, approaching in some instances to a conglomerate or pudding stone. To this greenstone Professor Silliman applies the names of basalt, or whin, in the paper under review; but in the other paper, above referred to, correctly denominates it secondary greenstone. Northeast and northwest from the city of New-Haven two perpendicular precipices exhibit the naked rock. These have received the names of east and west rock, of which the former is about four hundred and fifty feet high. The front of these precipices exhibits an assemblage of columns, generally assuming a prismatic form, variable however in the number of sides. The columns are usually perpendicular; but in some instances are very much inclined; "a remarkable instance of which occurs at the junction of the Hartford and Cheshire turnpike roads, where the columns do not form an angle of more than 8° or 10° with the horizon, and rest upon a stratum of sandstone, having the same inclination in degree and direction." Horizontal seams intersect these columns; whence result the columnar fragments, into which this rock either spontaneously falls, or may be broken. At the foot of the precipices lie masses of broken columns, precipitated by the freezing of water; which had penetrated their numerous seams and rents.

Professor Silliman speaks of a compact whin or greenstone lying southeast of the east rock. We are not certain, whether by the epithet *compact* he intends to distinguish this from *columnar* greenstone. We however take the liberty of referring him to a passage in "Williams' Natural History of the Mineral Kingdom," with regard to basalt or whin; as it may be useful to observe, whether the same remark will apply to the greenstone of New Haven.

"The basaltine rock," says Mr. Williams, "is to be judged of and denominated from its quality, and color, and component parts, and not only from the figure, it sometimes assumes, which is merely accidental, arising from situation,

more than from the quality of the stone. It is frequently found formed into globous, spherical, and other figures, as well as the columnar; but always, where it now is, and we have good reason to suppose, that it always was exposed to the external air. Wherever we trace a stratum of basaltes under the cover of other incumbent rocks, it is not then formed into any regular figure. Wherever we cut through it in sinking coal-pits, we do not find it regularly formed. Wherever the face of a regularly formed basaltine rock is quarried away, until it goes under other incumbent rocks, we soon lose the angular figures, and an uniform face of a rock comes in without the least appearance of a prismatical, globous, or any other regular figure." We do not know, that any of the greenstone in the vicinity of New-Haven is covered by other rocks; but it may be the case in some parts of this secondary formation.

The exterior surface of this greenstone is reddish brown, arising from the oxidation of the iron it contains. This stone is fusible into a blackish glass; and is exceedingly useful as a building stone, from its regularity of form. It contains several simple minerals; among these are the sulphurets of iron and copper, prehnite, and zeolite.

The hills of New-Haven Professor Silliman considers the commencement of several ranges of greenstone, which extend into the interior of New-England, showing themselves in precipices at Mount Tom, and Mount Holyoke, near Northampton, Mass. He also notices the remarkable resemblance of the greenstone around New-Haven to the rock of Salisbury Craig, Scotland. The latter also rests on red sandstone.

Leaving the west-rock, and proceeding through West-Haven near to the Derby turnpike, a new rock presents itself, to which the Professor finds it difficult to apply a suitable name. He thus describes it: "Its color is bluish, inclining to white, its fracture hackly, its hardness is such, that it may be scratched even by the nail. Its structure is schistose, the laminae are often variously contorted, and frequently striated with laminae of quartz, and sometimes of mica, so that in many places it may be called mica-schistus, and from its soapy

feel it may generally be denominated magnesian schistus. Sometimes it inclines towards argillaceous schistus, &c." Some additional information respecting this schistus is given us in the second paper above-mentioned. Towards West Haven village this slate is intermediate between argillaceous and chlorite slate, and at the beach below West Haven, it is decidedly chlorite slate. This latter slate, which runs into the sea at West Haven beach, abounds with minute crystals of magnetic iron ore. The slate is easily disintegrated, the iron is washed out, broken by attrition, thrown back by the water on the shore, and covers the beach with very pure magnetic iron sand.

About five miles west of New Haven commences an extensive range of primitive limestone; in which a quarry of very beautiful variegated marble has recently been opened, and promises to be useful to the public. Steatite, tremolite, asbestos, dolomite, epidote, chlorite, aetynolite, phosphate of lime and some other species have been found in the vicinity of New Haven.

This section of Connecticut appears to be particularly interesting. This is important to students in mineralogy; a branch of knowledge, which many of the young gentlemen of Yale College will be induced to cultivate by the very valuable collection of minerals, which, as we have mentioned, has recently been deposited in the cabinet of that college by colonel Gibbs.

ARTICLE 5.

Sketches of a tour to the western country, through the states of Ohio and Kentucky; a voyage down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and a trip through the Mississippi Territory, and part of West Florida. Commenced at Philadelphia in the winter of 1807, and concluded in 1809. With notes and an Appendix, containing some interesting facts, together

with a notice of an expedition through Louisiana. By F. Cuming. Pittsburgh—Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum, 1816. 12mo, pp. 504.

The state of Ohio and the adjacent country afford a very striking object of contemplation. The commencement of the settlement of this state by the Ohio company was in 1788. At that time there was a military garrison on the Muskingum, but no settlers except two Moravian towns, and a few trespassers on public lands. Its settlement was interrupted by the Indian war, which was terminated by general Wayne in 1795. Since that time it has progressed with a rapidity, of which perhaps there is no other example. It has grown up to be a powerful state in our Union, within far less than half the common period of human life. If one, who had visited this country thirty years ago, were now, without any knowledge of the circumstances that have since taken place, to return to it again, what would appear before him would seem almost like the work of enchantment. He would have left it inhabited by hostile tribes of natives, abounding with the wild animals which afforded them subsistence, and covered by forests, which for ages had been possessors of its soil. He would now find, that civilized men had poured themselves over the country, that a population, which in 1800 amounted to about 40,000, and which since that time has twice trebled, was everywhere spreading itself; that large towns with many of the principal manufactures of old countries were extending along its principal rivers; and a soil of unexhausted fertility subduing to the uses of man. He would find the promise of a future increase almost proportional to the past, in a country healthy, adapted to produce in abundance the most valuable articles, intersected by navigable rivers, and along whose whole extent the Ohio stretches its lazy length of almost uninterrupted waters. When his admiration at this rapid growth of a people had subsided, he might find in this state and in the neighbouring country other objects to engage his attention and curiosity. He might trace the remains of a populous nation, whose memory has perished from the earth; and who

are known to have existed only by the objects which they have left behind them of wonder and mystery. He might visit the mounds and works of earth of their erection, to be found in every part of the country, which contain their bones and the utensils and ornaments, which they deposited with the dead. He might examine those human skeletons of an unusual size, which are sometimes discovered; and trace those inscriptions, which none have been able to explain. He might view what is scarcely less an object of curiosity, the enormous bones of apparently different species of animals, the contemporaries perhaps of the ancient inhabitants of the country, and whose race and history, like theirs, has been swept from the earth. He might see the remains of the subsequent masters of the land; men in their original character, barbarous; of merciless cruelty to their enemies; with little open bravery, yet with some strong traits of generosity; with an occasional decorum in their intercourse, such as is scarcely to be found in civilized society; of no inconsiderable untutored strength of intellect; wonderful for their fortitude in enduring hunger, fatigue, disease, and torments; and still more remarkable for notions of religion, which seem to have been higher and more correct than those of any other people, not taught by revelation. He might find them here and there retaining something of their native character; but for the most part sunk into wretched debasement by the oppressive influence of their too powerful neighbours; or tamed into imperfect civilization by their care and humanity. Turning from these objects, he might find much worthy of observation in the different and strongly marked states of society, to be found in a newly settled country; where some are yet subsisting by the precarious life of hunters, slothful, savage, and sunk into the most degrading brutality; while others are toiling with patient industry to clear the soil, to build comfortable dwellings, and to provide themselves support by agriculture; and not a few have risen to wealth, some by persevering exertion, and others by the rapid increase of the value of their property. He might observe the striking contrasts produced by these different states

of society, and now pass the shire town of a county, where the courts are held in a log house, and a little farther on see the elegant mansion-house of private opulence.

Much information with regard to this interesting country is contained in the volume under review. It consists of Mr. Cuming's account of his tour, some extracts from that of another person, whose name is not given, and a very copious appendix, consisting partly of matter selected from various publications, and partly of original communications to the editor, who, it seems, is not Mr. Cuming himself. It would be a valuable book to a traveller in the country to which it relates, or to one about to settle in it, or to any person desirous of obtaining very particular information respecting it. There is not a little however, which even to such a one would be of no value; and still more which is useless and uninteresting to one who wishes to obtain only general views of the country. Mr. Cuming, (whose tour occupies a little less than two thirds of the book), has no faculty of generalization, and apparently but very little power of discriminating the value of one fact from that of another. He accordingly relates, commonly with the most tedious, but sometimes with the most amusing minuteness, what he saw, and felt, and heard, and eat. He gives, with great accuracy we presume, and a conscientious regard to historical justice, the moral characters, and private lives of innkeepers on the road, travellers whom he met, and men from whom he hired horses, with occasional notices of their wives and children. If he describe a fine prospect, he begins at a certain point, and, proceeding through a circuit of half a dozen pages, goes quite round the circle, noticing in his way every object of considerable size, till he arrives again at the point from which he set out. But to his praise be it spoken, this painful minuteness, and we trust accuracy, extends to great things as well as small; and he gives us the most particular notices of the country through which he passed, and statistical accounts of all the principal towns. In what follows we shall state some of the striking and important information, concerning the western country, which the present vol-

time affords; but which we fear that most readers would be too impatient and fastidious to collect for themselves.

In January 1807, Mr. Cuming set out on foot from Philadelphia, and after travelling several days arrived at Bedford. Here he notices the stream of people, which is continually flowing on the roads to and from the western country.

"The travelling on these roads in every direction is truly astonishing, even at this inclement season, but in the spring and fall, I am informed that it is beyond all conception.

"Apropos of travelling—A European, who had not experienced it, could form no proper idea of the magnificence of it in this country. The travellers are, waggoners, carrying produce to, and bringing back foreign goods from the different shipping ports on the shores of the Atlantic, particularly Philadelphia and Baltimore;—packers with from one to twenty horses, selling or trucking their wares through the country;—countrymen, sometimes alone, sometimes in large companies, carrying salt from M'Connelstown, and other points of navigation on the Potomac and Susquehannah, for the curing of their beef, pork, venison, &c.—families removing further back into the country, some with cows, oxen, horses, sheep, and hogs, and all their farming implements and domestic utensils, and some without; some with waggons, some with carts, and some on foot, according to their abilities:—The residue, who make use of the best accommodations on the roads, are country merchants, judges and lawyers attending the courts, members of the legislature, and the better class of settlers removing back. All the first four descriptions carry provisions for themselves and horses, live most miserably, and, wrapped in blankets, occupy the floor of the bar rooms of the taverns where they stop each night, which the landlords give them the use of, with as much wood as they choose to burn, in consideration of the money they pay them for whiskey, of which they drink great quantities, expending foolishly for that which poisons them, as much money as would render them comfortable otherwise.—so far do they carry this mania for whiskey, that to procure it, they in the most niggardly manner deny themselves even the necessities of life." pp. 46, 47.

It is to be remarked that Bedford, the place where this account is suggested to Mr. Cuming, and beyond which the population of almost half of Pennsylvania, and of the whole state of Ohio, now spreads itself to the westward, was, but twenty five years ago, a frontier town, defended by a garrison against the natives.

To the preceding account, we add the description which Mr. Cuming gives of the travellers which he found at a tavern, the night but one before his arrival at Bedford.

"It was not yet day, and the scene in the tavern was, to me, truly novel. It was a large, half finished log house, with no apparent accommodation for any traveller who had not his own bed or blanket. It was surrounded on the outside by waggons and horses, and inside, the whole floor was so filled with people sleeping, wrapped in their blankets round a large fire, that there was no such thing as approaching it to get warm, until some of the travellers, who had awoke at our entrance, went out to feed their horses; after doing which they returned, drank whiskey under the name of bitters, and resumed their beds on the floor—singing, laughing, joking, romping, and apparently as happy as possible." pp. 43, 44.

The vice of the excessive use of ardent spirits, it would seem, prevails throughout this newly settled country. In the appendix there is a letter written with much intelligence, by Dr. Gideon C. Forsyth of Wheeling, originally published in the Medical Repository, and containing various information respecting the eastern part of the state of Ohio. The author says:—

"In all newly settled countries, I believe the practice of drinking ardent spirits to excess is very common; at any rate it has been, and is the case here. The low price of whiskey and peach-brandy, favors it very much; so that while we are getting, in some measure, rid of the diseases consequent to a new settlement, another more formidable evil is generating. So common is this practice, that many heads of families will rise in the morning, bring out their bottle, and call all their families around them to taste the potent liquor, as regularly as the good man does his family to join their morning devotions." p. 383.

Of Marietta, situated at the confluence of the Muskingum and the Ohio, to which Mr. Cuming proceeded, there is a good account, though far less minute than what he sometimes gives. It is principally inhabited by New Englanders, "which accounts," he says, "for the neat and handsome style of building displayed in it." It contained in 1807 about two hundred houses, "including a court house, a market, an acad-

emy, and a post office." There were two ropewalks. When Mr. Cuming was at the place, there were on the stocks two ships, two brigs, and a schooner. Following the course of the Ohio and Mississippi, it is distant about two thousand one hundred and twenty miles from the ocean. A bank, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, is established here. It began to issue notes in 1807. All this in 1807 was the growth of about twelve years.

" Two block houses still remain in Marietta, out of which it was very unsafe to go singly previous to Wayne's treaty, as the Indians were always lurking about, on the watch to shoot and scalp, when such opportunities were given them, and in which they were frequently but two successful." p. 107.

From Pittsburg, which is one hundred and seventy two miles above, vessels likewise sail laden for foreign voyages. Such vessels descend the Ohio during the freshets of the spring and autumn, when the river rises from fifteen to thirty feet.

From Marietta Mr. Cuming proceeded down the Ohio. About half way between Marietta and Galliopolis, two new passengers were taken on board the boat in which he was, one of them by name Buffington. We quote what follows on account of the view which it gives of the manners of the backwoodsmen, as they are called.

" Buffington was a very stout young man, and was going to the falls, to attend a gathering (as they phrase it in this country) at a justice's court, which squire Sears, who resides at the falls, holds on the last Saturday of every month: He supposed there would be sixty or seventy men there—some plaintiffs, and some defendants in causes of small debts, actions of defamation, assaults, &c. and some to wrestle, fight, shoot at a mark with the rifle for wagers, gamble at other games, or drink whiskey. He had his rifle with him, and was prepared for any kind of frolick which might be going forward. He was principally induced to go there from having heard that another man, who was to be there, had said that he could whip him (the provincial phrase for beat.) After his frolick was ended he purposed returning home through the woods." pp. 116, 117.

Mr. Cuming adds—

" It may not be improper to mention, that the backwoods-

men, as the first emigrants from the eastward of the Alleghany mountains are called, are very similar in their habits and manners to the aborigines, only perhaps more prodigal and more careless of life. They depend more on hunting than on agriculture, and of course are exposed to all the varieties of climate in the open air. Their cabins are not better than Indian wigwams. They have frequent meetings for the purposes of gambling, fighting, and drinking. They make bets to the amount of all they possess. They fight for the most trifling provocations, or even sometimes without any, but merely to try each other's prowess, which they are fond of vaunting of. Their hands, teeth, knees, head, and feet are their weapons." p. 118.

We forbear to quote the more minute account of the detestable brutality of these battles, which follows, together with an anecdote for the purpose of illustration. What is said by Mr. Cuming is partly confirmed, by being only partially denied, in a note of the editor. He says:—

" This indeed is a most lamentable picture of the depravity of human nature, and might have applied better fifteen or twenty years ago than at present. But our author ought to have confined it to a *particular* frontier, and to a *few* individuals; for it is by no means the character of *all* our backwoodsmen; nor are such ferocious and more than beast-like battles customary on the borders of all our frontier settlements." p. 119.

Passing down the river, and leaving Gallipolis on the right, Mr. Cuming arrived at Portsmouth, situated at the confluence of the Scioto and the Ohio. In 1807 it contained twenty houses, some of them of brick and the most very good; It is the capital of the county of Scioto, and a courthouse was to be erected immediately. This is all of little importance, except in connexion with what we are also told, that the town had been laid out only two years.

Having descended the river as far as Maysville, or Limestone, on the Kentucky side, the principal shipping port on the Ohio below Pittsburg, Mr. Cuming here left the river to proceed with another traveller to Lexington in Kentucky. Passing through a country, in some parts highly cultivated and "wonderfully abundant in grain," and stopping at the flourishing town of Washington, containing ninety six houses, a

court-house of stone and a church of brick—they arrived at Lexington, which is distant sixty-four miles from the Ohio.

"The country," says Mr. Cuming, "had insensibly assumed the appearance of an approach to a city. The roads very wide and fine, with grazing parks, meadows, and every spot in sight cultivated.

"Soon after parting with the general, we were gratified with a view of Lexington, about half a mile distant, from an eminence on the road. On entering the town we were struck with the fine roomy scale on which every thing appeared to be planned. Spacious streets, and large houses, chiefly of brick, which since the year 1795 have been rapidly taking the place of the original wooden ones, several of which however yet remain.

"We turned up the main street, which is about eighty feet wide, compactly built, well paved, and having a footway, twelve feet wide on each side.—Passing several very handsome brick houses of two and three stories, numerous stores well filled with merchandize of every description, and the market place and court-house, we dismounted at Wilson's inn, and entered the traveller's room." pp. 160, 161.

Of Lexington Mr. Cuming has given a very minute account, being favored by the communications of a gentleman residing in the place, who had collected much local information concerning it. To his account however something is still added in the appendix, and from both we collect the following. Lexington in 1809 contained about four hundred and twenty houses, and four thousand inhabitants; but it is said to be progressing with unexampled rapidity, and that there can be little question that in a few years it will become the largest inland town in the United States. It is a place of very considerable trade. It is situated in the centre of a very fertile country, covering an area of sixteen hundred square miles. Of its manufactures Mr. Cuming gives a particular enumeration. We shall notice a few. There were, when he visited it, seven ropewalks, and five factories of coarse linen, in which upwards of five hundred workmen were employed. There were three manufactoryes for cotton spinning, one of them on an extensive plan. A flour mill, worked by a steam engine, has been recently erected. There were four paper mills in

its vicinity, and two printing offices in the town. Two gazettes were published weekly, and there was an extensive book- and stationary store. Kentucky academy and Transylvania university are situated in this place. Lexington is likewise a place of expense and dissipation.

"Last year [1806] there were," says Mr. Cuming, "in Lexington thirty-nine two wheel carriages, such as gigs and one horse chaises, valued at 5764 dollars, and twenty-one four wheel ones, coaches, chariots, &c. valued at 8900 dollars; since when four elegant ones have been added to the number. This may convey some idea of the taste for shew and expense which pervades this country." p. 166.

"There are four billiard tables in Lexington, and cards are a good deal played at taverns, where it is more customary to meet for that purpose than at private houses." ibid.

A theatre has likewise lately been erected.

All this forms a most striking contrast with the state of the country but a few years past. Speaking of the keeper of a tavern on the road from the Ohio to Lexington, an intelligent man, Mr. Cuming says:

"We collected from him, that when he first arrived in Kentucky, about twenty three years ago, there was not a house between Limestone and Lexington, and at the latter place were only a few log cabins under the protection of a stockade fort.--- That there was not half a mile of the road between the two places unstained by human blood." p. 156.

"He said that buffaloes, bears, and deer were so plenty in the country, even long after it began to be generally settled, and ceased to be frequented as a hunting ground by the Indians, that little or no bread was used, but that even the children were fed on game; the facility of gaining which prevented the progress of agriculture, until the poor innocent buffaloes were completely extirpated, and the other wild animals much thinned: And that the principal part of the cultivation of Kentucky had been within the last fifteen years." ibid.

It is only fourteen or fifteen years, says Mr. Cuming, since no other except buffalo or bear meat was used by the inhabitants of this country.

From Lexington Mr. Cuming visited Frankfort, the capital of the state of Kentucky, and then returned to Maysville,

The population of the country near this place he describes as astonishing for the time of its settlement. At the distance of six miles from it he was present at a muster of militia, where was reviewed a battallion of upwards of five hundred men, very expert in the use of the rifle. It had been collected from a district of ten miles square, which had been principally settled within about ten years.

From Maysville Mr. Cuming proceeded over land to Chillicothe, on the Scioto. It was then the capital of the state; but has since been superseded by Zanesville, on the Muskingum. We will not weary our readers with any further accounts of rapid increase and prosperity. From this place he returned through the country to Pittsburg.

In the spring of 1808 Mr. Cuming, being again at Maysville, set out from this place to descend the Ohio and Mississippi. The state of Ohio he soon left, to enter between Indiana and Kentucky. Before following him in his second voyage, we will mention a few further particulars concerning the country he was leaving.

The healthiness of the climate, and the fertility of the soil in the state of Ohio, we have before noticed. According to Dr. Forsyth, whose letter we have quoted, forty or fifty bushels of Indian corn, and twenty five or thirty of wheat may be raised from an acre in the eastern part of the state. Near Lexington, according to information given to Mr. Cuming, the produce is the same of Indian corn, and from twenty to thirty seven of wheat. Maple sugar is made in abundance, and is that which is principally used in the greater part of the state of Ohio. There is, according to Dr. Forsyth, in this state, a most valuable growth of medicinal plants. With respect to minerals, iron ore, limestone, and coal are very abundant. The latter is said to be contained in large beds in all the hilly parts of the state. It is sold at the doors in Pittsburg, (Pennsylvania) for six cents a bushel; and "I was informed," says Mr. Cuming, "that it is the principal fuel of the country for fifty or sixty miles round." At Zanesville, according to a letter in the appendix, it "can be had delivered in the town at

three and an half cents per bushel." Salt springs are found in different parts of this state, and the neighbouring country. The principal salt works are on the Scioto. About five hundred and eighty bushels of salt a week were made here when Mr. Cuming visited them, which at the furnace was sold for two dollars a bushel. The springs here, according to him, are the most strongly impregnated with salt of any in the western country, but much less so than the waters of the ocean; sixty pounds of their water yielding about one pound of salt. This country possesses within itself almost all that is necessary, even with our present modes of life, to comfortable subsistence.

In the year ending the thirtieth of September 1810, the direct exports of the state of Ohio, according to the report of the secretary of the treasury, amounted to 10,588 dollars; but its produce, with that of the rest of the western country, is principally carried for exportation to New Orleans. The whole exports of domestic growth from this port amounted in the same year to 1,753,974 dollars. This, added to the preceding sum, and making a total of 1,764,562 dollars, may be considered as somewhat more than the whole value of exports from all the western states, and is about one twenty fourth of the value of exports of domestic articles from the United States in the same year, viz. 42,386,675 dollars, and less than one thirty seventh of the total value of exports, foreign and domestic, viz. 66,757,970 dollars. In the year ending the thirtieth of September 1807, our exports, both foreign and domestic, were greater than they ever have been during any other year. The exports from the state of Ohio amounted to 28,889 dollars; those of domestic produce from New Orleans to 3,161,281 dollars, making a total of 3,490,270 dollars. This was somewhat less than one fifteenth of the total value of the exports of domestic produce from the United States for the same year, viz. 48,699,592 dollars, and less than one thirty third of the total value of exports domestic and foreign, viz. 108,348,150. According to the present ratio of representation however, the states of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee elect

twenty two out of one hundred and eighty one members in our national house of representatives, that is, more than a ninth part. They have heretofore elected only ten out of one hundred and forty two. They elect likewise more than one sixth of our national senate, and more than one eighth of the electors of the President.

We return to Mr. Cuming. Passing into the Mississippi he descended that river to Bayou Pierre. Between the entrance of the Ohio and Palmyra, a town in the Mississippi territory, a distance of about five hundred and fifty miles, following the course of the river, the banks of the Mississippi are for the most part unsettled. The principal settlement in this distance is New Madrid, containing about a hundred houses, seventy three miles below the Ohio. Below Palmyra the Mississippi becomes gradually more thickly inhabited. Mr. Cuming's journal of his voyage down the river, where so few objects of importance presented themselves, is as minute as usual, and of course rather more than ordinarily tedious.

The remainder of his journal relates to his travels in the settled part of the Mississippi territory, and in that part of West Florida which is near the river. A rich, swampy, unhealthy level here for the most part borders the Mississippi, in general about two miles broad, but sometimes nine or ten; and the rivers which flow into it are in general bordered in a similar manner. About fifteen or twenty miles distance from the river, the pine woods commence, the soil becomes less fertile, and the climate more salubrious. Beyond are the Choctaw Indians. The interval between these woods and the river bottom is composed of chains of high broken hills; some of which when cleared of the forests and cane brake, with which they have been covered, are very fertile, while the soil of others is exhausted in a few years, so as to become almost barren. Of the Mississippi territory cotton is the staple. Indian corn is raised; now land when well attended yielding seventy or eighty bushels an acre. All the other objects of agriculture are generally neglected, and for these

they are dependent on the southern and middle states. Of the state of society and morals in this part of the country, Mr. Cuming gives the following account:—

“The cotton crop requiring constant attention, and children being useful in gathering it, the bulk of the inhabitants cannot afford to spare the labor of their children, so that education is almost totally neglected, and perhaps there are few people, a degree above the savage, more completely destitute of literary acquirements. But as they grow up, they can find time for attendance at courts of law, horse races, and festive, or rather bacchanalian meetings at taverns, where bad whiskey is drunk to the greatest excess. Notwithstanding this proneness to dissipation, to the neglect of manners, morals, and property, there is a semblance of religion, so that any noisy sectarian preacher may always be sure of having a congregation, if his time of preaching is known a day beforehand.” pp. 322, 323.

This territory contained, according to the census of 1810, 40,252 inhabitants, of whom 17,088 were slaves, a greater proportion than exists in any state in the Union.

We have given some of the general statements respecting the western country that may be collected from this book, and some specimens of the information it contains. This information however in Mr. Cuming’s journal is, as we have said, buried under a mass of rubbish. We will give an example or two of what is to be met with. Ten pages from the beginning of the journal, is the account of the most memorable incident, which seems to have befallen Mr. Cuming in the whole course of his tour. It is as follows:—Three miles from Elizabethtown his left foot began to pain him. This pain was much increased by his accidentally stepping up to his knee, through the ice, into a stream which crossed the road; and which the darkness prevented him from seeing. In this melancholy state he arrived at the ferry-house on Swatara creek, where, instead of meeting with the hospitality and kindness that his unfortunate situation demanded, he was “almost scolded” by old Mrs. Smith, the landlady, because in attempting to relieve his sufferings by bathing his foot with spirits of turpentine, he risqued the dropping of it on her floor. For this hard hearted pretence to nicety, Mr. Cuming gives us to under-

stand that the state of the fisor afforded no excuse. From this "dirty, boorish, inhospitable mansion," (Mr. Cuming's indignation makes him eloquent,) he soon however escaped in the ferry boat. He arrived at the excellent inn on the other side, and attended to his foot in quiet and without interruption. This, it should be understood, is an abstract of the relation.

Of the extreme minuteness, which characterizes his journal we will give one other specimen, which is open before us, and which has rather more the air of containing something like information, than very many that might be taken: to say nothing of the interesting view it presents to the imagination.

"Lybrant's is one of the best and most reasonable inns I had met with in my tour. At one o'clock we set down to a most-excellent breakfast of good coffee, roast fowls, chicken pie, potatoes, bread and butter, and cucumbers both sliced and pickled, all not only good, but delicate and fine even to the pastry, which is very uncommon in this country, and our charge was only a quarter of a dollar." p. 198.

We have already noticed Mr. Cuming's propensity to give accounts and characters of all sorts of people, and their families. Out of a great number, from whith a choice may be made, we give the following:—speaking of two horses hired by himself and a fellow traveller, Mr. Cuming says—

"We engaged one at half a dollar, and the other at three quarters of a dollar a day; the last from a Mr. Fristoe, a small man of sixty-eight, married to his second wife of thirty-two years of age. She is a contrast to her husband in size as well as years, she being tall and fat, and weighing two hundred and forty pounds. She is two years younger than his youngest daughter by his first wife. He has grand and great-grand children born in Kentucky. He is a Virginian, and was once a man of large property, when he resided on the banks of one of the rivers which fall into the Chesapeake, where he loaded the ship in which captain, afterwards consul O'Brien was captured by the Algerines. By unfortunate land jobbing in Kentucky, he has lost his property, and is now a butcher in Washington.

"He is truly a philosopher, contrasting his former with his present situation, with much good humour and pleasantry." pp. 151, 152.

It can only be after one has met with a score of similar ac-

counts, that he can have a notion of the mingled feelings of vexation and amusement, with which we perused this precious information concerning Mr. and Mrs. Fristoe.

To Mr. Cuming's tour is annexed that of another person, from Bayan Pierre to New Orleans, and thence to Philadelphia; which, if we except some account of New Orleans, is altogether contemptible.

The book has apparently been put together very hastily. There are references in the body of the work to additions in the appendix, which are not there to be found. The notice of an expedition through Louisiana, mentioned in the title-page, and which we had almost forgotten, is a very brief account of Col. Pike's expedition, taken from the *Medical Repository*.

ARTICLE 6.

Sermons on particular occasions.

Dixerit hic aliquis: "Quis ista nescit? Adfer aliquid novi."

Scio ista quotidie audiri in concionibus. Sed—

Erauni Ecclesiastes.

Boston, printed by Manning & Loring, May, 1812.

A VERY considerable, and perhaps the greatest part of the literary men of New-England has always been composed of the clergy. Some of these have acquired notice and a degree of fame by their writings. The Mathers possess a strange and bizarre sort of reputation, of which it is not easy to estimate the value. Edwards has made himself well known by his works in metaphysical divinity. Chauncey was a man of far more than ordinary talents, a very laborious student of ecclesiastical history, with reference to the controversy respecting church government, and one of the first in our country who broke through the theological systems, which had closed over us, and let in light upon the doctrines of Christianity, and the meaning of scripture. Others might be mentioned, who have added to the literature of our country; some, like Belknap, by works not immediately connected with their profession. But

till within a few years, not much, or at least not much successful attention has been paid by our clergy to that very difficult species of intellectual labor, the composition of sermons for publication. The writing of discourses, by which, when delivered, the congregation of a preacher may be instructed and edified, is a very different thing from the writing of such discourses, as, when given to the world, will engage readers, and will make those who read wiser and better. Sermons for the publick are one of the most difficult, partly because they are in themselves one of the least alluring of all kinds of composition. They have none of the interest of history, nor the charm of poetry and fiction, nor do they engage us like works of science. Their main purpose is to make men better, and there are few men who read much for the sake of being made better, who refer what they read to their own characters, and have the express object of their own moral improvement. Eloquence indeed, the expression of natural feeling, and striking representations, and beautiful compositions, may delight us in a sermon as well as in other species of writing; but they can delight us only when we are at ease respecting the truths enforced, either because we endeavour to make them the rule of our life, or because we regard them with the carelessness of incredulity: Voltaire selected the famous passage of Massillon in his sermon on the small number of the elect, as a specimen of sublime eloquence. But no man can read this passage with any emotions of delight, who either does not believe that he himself is one of the elect, or who is not wholly incredulous as to the representation of the preacher. To sermons, whatever may be the richness of their eloquence, few men will resort for the purpose of relaxation and entertainment. In their reading the faculties ought not to be unbent; they require a grave and somewhat severe state of mind, not indisposed to the reception of high thoughts and solemn considerations. But this is a state, which to most men is irksome and painful. From the reading of sermons men are deterred likewise by the associations connected with this species of composition; by the impression of the many worthless discourses of this sort—some, which are

dull in their thoughts, and slovenly in their style, and appear to have been written, as they are read, with no other feeling than that of tediousness and labor; some, which are captious and ill-tempered, whose authors represent what they call our duty as unpleasantly as may be, and then endeavour to drive us to its performance by threats and reproaches; some, which are founded upon views of our condition and God's moral government, to which no man, unless when they are kneaded into him by education, can readily bring himself to assent; and others finally, which have the character of requiring too much, and of putting the standard of duty too high, but which in fact only misrepresent our duty, and require something else than what reason and religion demand; for if it be otherwise, it is as strange a complaint, as it would be to say that they require us to be too happy, and to have too great a regard to our own interest. All the indisposition to their reading produced by these various causes a volume of sermons must have merit enough to overcome, a merit of no very easy acquisition, from the very nature of the subjects of which they ought to treat, and to which few writers of sermons in our country have attained. This merit however is possessed by the sermons in the present small collection, which will preserve the memory of its author, as we think he would wish to be remembered.

These sermons are distinguished for good sense; an originality of manner and thought, which displays the mind of the writer, and gives them a distinctive character; great simplicity, plainness, and, if we may use such a phrase, directness of expression; an unusual propriety and accuracy in the use of words; and great correctness, and sometimes great beauty of imagery. They are, what very many sermons are not, adapted to the real character, and real circumstances of men. The persons whom their author addressed were not the creatures of his imagination; they were not beings, such as many preachers seem to fancy to themselves as their hearers, who, if we may judge from the motives urged upon them, and the affections to which they are exhorted, are no more like human

beings than like any thing else in the universe; they were the actual men, women, and children of his congregation. The views of our character, our condition, and our duties, which are given or implied in these discourses, are conformable to reality and life. There is nothing in them of the romance of sermon-writing, nothing better than the truth, *plus beau que la vérité*, as somebody told Voltaire there was in his histories.

This volume may give to a stranger a just notion of that style of rational and manly preaching, which has been the boast of our metropolis—a kind of preaching solemn and serious, but with no purpose of exciting any temporary emotions of terror; devotional, but without enthusiasm, because its object is to make devotion an habitual feeling; inculcating every branch of morality, and applying the motives of religion to the every-day duties of life; and instructing men without ostentation in the character and evidences of our religion, and in the meaning and design of the sacred writings. While we have such preachers as the author of these sermons, religion will never be deprived of any of its proper influence, by the manner in which it is exhibited by its friends. There is no perversity of mind which can find any thing to ridicule in discourses like these. They display truths, which no man, who thinks at all, can think that he will not be the happier for believing, if their belief have its proper effect; they inculcate duties, which no man can pretend that he will not be the better for practising.

There are in this volume only eight sermons, of not unusual length, with the addition of some notes, and a charge delivered at the ordination of a colleague. The subjects of these sermons are as follow:

“ I. Duties resulting from the esteem and love, which the members of a Christian congregation owe to their minister. (Preached previously to the ordination of a colleague.)

“ II. The tenderness of Jesus Christ. (Preached on Good Friday.)

“ III. The immortality of man the important consequence of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. (Preached on Easter-day.)

“ IV. There is sufficient evidence that the Christian reli-

gion began in the early part of the first century, notwithstanding no notice is taken of it by a great number of the writers of that age. (Preached on Whitsunday.)

" V. The effect of Christian principles in rendering the female heart benevolent. (Preached before the Boston Female Asylum.)

" VI. A summary of several important duties. (Preached on the Sunday before Advent.)

" VII. Jesus Christ the Prince of Peace. (Preached on Christmas day.)

" VIII. The end of the year. (Preached on the last Sunday of the year.)

To the first of these sermons a number of notes are appended, which contain much amusing and learned criticism, with regard to the composition of sermons, the character of those of the English and French preachers, of Vieyra, the Portuguese jesuit, and of the homilies of the Greek and Latin fathers.

The fourth sermon is, we believe, original in its subject. Between the year twenty seven, in which, or about which time, our Saviour was baptized by John, and the year one hundred and seventeen, the end of the reign of Trajan, at which time there is no controversy that Christianity existed, various heathen authors wrote, who have made no mention of the Christians. The object of the sermon is to account for this silence; which is done by shewing that the greater part of them, viz. fourteen, wrote on such subjects, that no mention or notice of the existence of a body of Christians could with any propriety be introduced into their writings. Of five others, viz. Persius, Petronius Arbiter, Seneca the younger, the elder Pliny, and Plutarch, it is remarked, that they might have mentioned them, but have not; but that their silence is an objection of little weight, as they have omitted many other important facts, which undoubtedly existed in that age. The eight remaining heathen authors of that period either speak of the Christians by name, or probably allude to them. Of Jewish authors, Philo probably wrote before this period; and with regard to the testimony of Josephus, reference is made to Lardner. In the above statement, Pliny is placed in the second class of heathen

writers, who might have mentioned the Christians, but have not. In respect to him however it is remarked, that it would not be easy, after the most careful perusal, to discover a place in his voluminous work, in which the author would, by his subjects, be led to speak of Christianity; for it is altogether a work, not of civil or religious, but of natural history. In one book, for example, he treats of beasts, in another of birds, in another of fishes, in another of minerals. Petronius Arbiter is likewise placed in the second class. We should be disposed to place him among those from whom no mention of Christianity was to be expected. We never have waded far into his filth, but if we may trust our own knowledge and the report of others, he is little else than a writer of obscure stories of loathsome indecency. It is only fragments of him which have come down to us. If we remove this writer and Pliny into the first class, there will then remain only three out of twenty seven authors, from whom any notice of Christianity could have been expected, and by whom it is not mentioned or alluded to.

We will now give one or two extracts to justify, as far as can be done in this manner, the opinion which we have expressed of these discourses. The first is from the third discourse, in which the preacher, after speaking of the consolation, which the belief of immortality affords to the unfortunate, proceeds to address the prosperous.

"I observe, in the fourth place, that immortality is not only a comfort to the afflicted; but that it is also a consoling doctrine to the prosperous. Some of you, my hearers, possess health, and youth, and admiring friends: the world smiles on you; your hearts beat high with ardent expectations; and every object promises you a new pleasure. Others of you have wealth, and honors, and comely and well-disposed children, who both obey and love you, who are daily improving in knowledge and good habits, and on whom you depend for comfort and support in your declining years. These things are all charming: It is fervently to be wished that they may last, and that you may not be disappointed in your fond anticipations. You have now such a taste for happiness, that you must be very unwilling to lose it. But you know it cannot continue long in the present world. Youth and all its pleasures are passing rapidly away: you will

soon be in the middle of life, and ere long on the confines of old age. Those of you who have reached either of these terms, cannot promise yourselves a lasting continuance of your prosperity. Time is giving you repeated warnings, that you will soon be summoned to depart. He is daily robbing you of a part of yourselves; pulling out your teeth, tearing away your hair, stiffening your limbs, covering your face with wrinkles, untuning your voice, quenching the fire of your eyes, and impairing your memory. The wealth and honors, which you possess, those who are younger than you, are eagerly snatching from you; and if not, you cannot carry them away; you will soon lie down in the grave, and leave them all behind you. Is it not then desirable, that there should be a state, in which your youth will be restored and rendered immortal; in which you will receive your bodies cured of every defect; and in which, though you do not recover your wealth and honors, you will obtain what is infinitely more valuable? Is not this what you all wish? and must not the prosperous in particular most ardently desire, that there may be truth in the doctrine, which promises them a restoration of their felicity with unsading lustre and never ceasing improvement?

The seventh sermon is eloquent and impressive. We will give one passage as an example, among other things, of that truth and forcibleness of address which is characteristic of these discourses. It is unnecessary to state its connexion.

" You must first learn the lesson of humility. What do any of you possess, of which you have reason to be proud?

" You are vain of your beauty; you frequently contemplate your image with self complacence; and you hope to become the object of general admiration: But you never receive so much homage, as your heart demands; and when you look at yourself more attentively, you secretly confess and lament, that you exact more than is justly your due; for you can perceive some things in your face and person, which you would be glad to mend. The eye of envy can discern your defects still more plainly; and even candor must allow, that your form is not faultless; that you have not that ideal beauty, which the painter and statuary can express, but which probably was never yet bestowed on any human being. Although then you sometimes delight in yourself, yet you are not always satisfied with your personal charms; and still less with the effect, which they produce on others.

" You boast of your riches: But you know that you are not as affluent, as you wish to appear; that you have not sufficient wealth to satisfy the demands of avarice or the love of

pleasure; that you are obliged to deny yourself many gratifications, because you are unable to purchase them; that you are still compelled to toil; that there are other men richer than you; that you have not yet attained the summit of gold, on which you expect to find rest and peace; and that though some persons fall down before you, yet that their worship is mercenary and mean, and consequently cannot confer any honor, because no man pays respect to mere wealth, unless he expects to derive some advantage from his homage.

" You are proud of your talents and learning: But how little do you know, in comparison of what there is to be known? You excel in one or two points; but how deficient are you in others? Of this you are conscious; and whilst you carefully conceal your imperfections from the world, you are perpetually afraid that it will discover the secret. The envious, it is true, deprecate you below what you deserve; but at the same time, you are sensible, that you pass among your friends for more than you are worth; that you are not acquainted with as many languages, arts, and sciences, as they suppose; that in many branches of knowledge you are quite superficial; that you have acquired only a few of the terms; and though when you deal them out with fluency, you make the ignorant stare, yet you feel all the while, that you ought not to derive any pleasure from their applause, or be proud of such a vain display. Even when you endeavour to exhibit the talents, which you really possess, talents, which a long and laborious education, and the agony of thought, have in some measure moulded and polished into an harmonious form, though you sometimes succeed, yet you find by experience that you more frequently fail. You can seldom originate what is new, perspicuous, or interesting. After the most industrious efforts, you cannot produce any thing which pleases yourself, or which ought to please others. Your thoughts and expressions for the most part are cold, trite, and obscure. When the rare moment of inspiration at last arrives, it so frequently comes without any act of your own, that you have no more reason to be proud of it, than of any natural advantage, which is independent of yourself: for it descends unbidden, like the lightning of heaven; it flashes suddenly on your mind, and soon leaves it in darkness and gloom. Your partial friends, who behold the reflection of the light in the next public exhibition of yourself, fondly hope that you can always be as brilliant, if you please: but you know that their expectations are vain, and that the flame of genius is not subject to your command. During a long life, spent in painful study, and anxious watchings for the sacred fire, you may be able once or twice to compose a work, which will affect, delight, or astonish the world; but the rest of your productions, you will confess, ought to be consigned to everlasting oblivion, as there

is nothing in them to charm or enlighten mankind. Besides, what ought to humble you is, that your genius is frequently accompanied with the most pitiable weakness, with such a palpable departure from the rules of common sense and common prudence, with such caprices and prejudices, that even vulgar men deride you. You are commonly so little acquainted with the ordinary course of human affairs, that a fool may deceive you, and a knave, by flattering your vanity, render you the prey of the grossest impositions. Of this in time you will become sensible; and on the whole you will learn from experience, that talents and learning without humility can never fill your heart with peace." p. 235—240

Our limits will not allow us to gratify ourselves and our readers in making any further extracts. This volume is one of those works, on which we are willing to rest the literary character of our country. We expect soon to see another collection of discourses, to which likewise we shall be proud to refer a stranger—the posthumous sermons of one, whose name will be to us *semper acerbum, semper honoratum*. We presume that we are at liberty to state, that the author of the present volume is the Rev. James Freeman, D. D. senior Rector at King's chapel, Boston.

ARTICLE 7.

A sketch of the history of Maryland, during the three first years after its settlement: To which is prefixed a copious introduction. By John Leeds Bozman. Baltimore: Edward J. Coale, 1811, 8vo.

We begin to feel the miseries of reviewers. Mr. Bozman has awakened us to a sense of our situation. We have been reading his copious introduction to the history of Maryland, filling two hundred and fifty nine octavo pages, and his history of that state for the three years after its settlement occupying about eighty two; to all which is appended about forty closely printed pages of notes and illustrations. He announces his intention of continuing this history. Our minds are oppressed by the recollection of what we have gone through, and the phantasmis

of Mr. Bozman's future volumes are haunting our imagination. He has filled eighty two pages with the history of the three first years of the state of Maryland, which brings its history down to the year 1638. Between this and the year 1812 there is an interval of one hundred and seventy four years, the history of which, at the rate of eighty two pages for three years, will fill no less than four thousand seven hundred and fifty pages, allowing nothing for notes and illustrations; and without these will occupy somewhat more than twelve other volumes of the present size. "Lo, what it is," as good old Bishop Hall exclaimed:—

"Lo, what it is, that makes white rags so deare."

There is nothing of particular interest in the history of these three first years. Dr. Holmes, in his Annals, has related every thing concerning them, that one at the present day desires to know, in fewer lines than Mr. Bozman has pages. Most of the records of the colony likewise for this period are lost, by which its historian thinks that the present age has been deprived of the knowledge of many valuable facts. In consequence of this loss, he has been obliged to make out his work in a manner, of which the following may afford some notion. 1, The laws sent over by the proprietor of the colony were rejected by an assembly of the colonists, and he gives the whole record of their proceedings on this occasion. 2, There was a contest between lord Baltimore and one Claiborne, who had possession of the island of Kent. Some men of the latter fired upon and killed some of the colonists. They were afterwards seized, and brought to trial, and we have a copy of the indictment, and of the consequent legal process on the occasion. 3, There is found among the old records of the state a mutilated, and in some parts unintelligible, copy of what purports to be a petition of Claiborne, respecting this dispute, to the king in council, and of the doings of the council respecting it. They are both of no sort of importance, and there is some doubt whether they are authentic. But Mr. Bozman has given the whole, and discussed the question of their au-

thenticity. In this way he has made his history; and considering that he has written so much with such scanty materials, what will he not effect, when he comes down to later times, and can pour upon us the journals of the Senate and House of Assembly, and deluge us with all the county records in the state?

As an introduction to this history, Mr. Bozman has given us an account of all the voyages of discovery to North America, beginning with that of Cabot, and of all the attempts at colonization, whether successful or not, at Canada, and Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, and Plymouth, and Virginia, and North Carolina, which took place previously to the settlement of Maryland. Things are understood by analogy and comparison; and he must have thought that we could not properly comprehend the voyage of lord Baltimore, and the foundation of his colony, without his giving us all this initiatory detail; for we can imagine no other connexion which it has with the history of Maryland. In these accounts there is no original research; he has taken for his guide Dr. Holmes' Annals, (a very respectable and useful publication,) and seems to be acquainted with some of the principal authorities only through the medium of that work. He has kept clear, as far as possible, of every thing interesting and valuable, and this in a manner so uniform and remarkable, that one can hardly ascribe it to any thing but natural instinct. We will give a passage, which has about the average merit of the book, containing as much entertainment and instruction as the greater half of those to which the reader may open at a venture. It is unfortunately necessary to give one of some length, to make it clear that it is a succession of petty details, and not the narrative of such as are necessary to connect important facts.

" De Monts, with his two ships, sailed from Havre de Grace on the 7th of March, 1604, and, after a passage of only one month, arrived at Cap de la Hève, in Nova Scotia. In a harbor very near this cape, to the southwest, he met with an interloping vessel, commanded by one Rossignol, a Frenchman, who was trading there with the Indians without licence; for which reason he seized his ship and cargo, and called the har-

bor port Rossignol. Coasting thence further to the southwest; he arrived at another haven, which his people named Port Mutton, on account of a sheep which either leaped or tumbled overboard here, and was drowned. From this port they coasted the peninsula to the southwest; doubled Cape Sable, and came to anchor in the bay of St. Mary. They afterwards proceeded to examine an extensive bay on the northwest of the peninsula, to which they gave the name of La Baye Francois, but which is now called the Bay of Funday. On the southeaster side of this bay they discovered a narrow strait, into which they entered, and soon found themselves in a spacious basin, environed with hills, and bordered with fertile meadows. Pontrincourt was so delighted with this place, that he determined to make it his residence, and proposed to send for his family, and settle there. Upon which De Monts, in virtue of his commission, made him a grant of it; and Pontrincourt gave it the name of Port Royal, which grant was afterwards, in the year 1607, confirmed to him by Henry IV. It has since been known by the name of Annapolis Royal. From Port Royal or Annapolis, De Monts sailed still further up the Bay of Funday, in search of a copper mine, then said to lie at the head of that bay. While De Monts was thus engaged in his coasting voyage, Champlain, who had been despatched in a long boat, immediately after their arrival at Cap de la Hève, to search for a proper place for a settlement, in examining the Bay of Funday, pursuant to the instructions of De Monts, came to a large river on the northwest side of the bay, which he called St. John's, originally called by the natives Ouy-gondy. From this river, Champlain coasted the bay southwestwardly twenty leagues, until he came to another river, in exploring which he met with a small island, in the middle of that river, and about half a league in circumference, to which he gave the name of *L' Isle de St. Croix*. This island," &c. pp. 118, 119.

The life of Captain Smith, as written by Belknap, is as interesting as a romance, and some might expect that what related to him in Mr. Bozman's work would have been a sort of island in a desert; but in this part of his history the way is as heavy and laborious, and every thing presented to view as dull and barren as in any other. We give one passage without selection.

" We are now to accompany Mr. Smith in his voyage up the Chesapeake. The first object of his notice, as they naturally presented themselves, was that cluster of islands, now usually denominated the Tangier islands; the largest of which,

from their first discoverer, still retains the name of Smith's island. Leaving these islands, it appears, that he then explored the eastern shores of what is now called Poconoke Bay, into which the river Poconoke empties. Departing from thence, he passed a high point of land, which he called Point Poyer, but which in all probability was the same point now well known under the denomination of Watkyns Point, and referred to in the charter or grant of Maryland to the lord Baltimore, as the most southern part of that province bordering on the Chesapeake. In doubling this point or cape he fell in with some shoals formed by another cluster of islands, said by some to have been the same, as those since called Wattle's islands, by others Holland's islands. To these shoals, probably from their difficult and perplexed navigation, he gave the name of Limbo. From thence he stood over again to the eastern shore, and discovered a river called by the natives Cucarawacock. On this river lived the nations of Sarapinsk, Nause, Arseck, and Nantiquack, (of which, probably, the word Nanticoke is a corruption), said by him to be the best traders of any Indians in those parts. They told the English of a great nation, called Massawomeeks, in search of whom, Smith returned, by Limbo, into the bay. Leaving the shallows of the eastern shore, he appears to have stood over to the western shore, but not to have fallen in with it until he came to a river, which he called Bohue river; but which is said to be that which is now called the Patapsco. Somewhere in the upper part of the bay, he fell in with seven canoes full of Indians, who turned out to be the Massawomeeks, who were then making war upon the Susquehannocks and the Tockwocks. When they first met, the Massawomeeks made a show of hostility, but suffering themselves to be persuaded of the friendly disposition of the English, after a mutual exchange of presents they departed. The English are said to have next entered a river, called the Tockwock, on which lived a nation of the same name in a palisaded town, in order to guard themselves against the Massawomeeks." pp. 151, 152, 153.

In one instance Mr. Bozman has manifested something like forbearance. He had prepared an account of the attempt to settle South Carolina by the French Huguenots, but this he has omitted; because, he professes to suppose, that it might be thought to have too little connexion with the history of Maryland. It would have had quite as much connexion, as the greater part of what he has published. The feeling, however, which led him to its suppression, whatever it might be, did not long continue. A short distance after his notice,

of this omission, he gives an account of the settlement of Plymouth. But the settlers at Plymouth were Puritans, and there would have been no Puritans, if the reformation had not taken place; and Mr. Bozman therefore takes this occasion to introduce a chapter, containing a sketch of the history of the reformation. Now we are not disposed to be unreasonable. A good account of the reformation is valuable, under whatever strange title we may purchase it, whether that of a history of Maryland, or a history of the island of Jamaica; but unfortunately, Mr. Bozman's account is of no more value than any other part of his work. He has told us nothing true of which any man of common information can be supposed ignorant, and he has told us more than one thing which is false. He has revived the calumny against Luther, of his being incited to oppose the corruptions of popery, by the transfer of the privilege of selling indulgences from the Augustines to the Dominicans. We have more than one reason for thinking that Mr. Bozman is not a man of very extensive reading, but he may have heard of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, and we will now inform him that this history was translated by Dr. MacLaine, who has added to it a number of valuable notes, and that in these notes some things are established, with considerable force of evidence, and among others the falsity of the story which he has repeated.* In his account of the settlement at Plymouth, to which this history of the reformation is prefixed, Mr. Bozman, in the same spirit which led him to repeat the story concerning Luther, has made some attempts to degrade the memory of those, whom we are proud to call our ancestors; men whose merit, he must excuse us for saying, we doubt whether he has the capacity of estimating. We at least have not the humility to vindicate them from his attacks.

We have intimated our opinion that the reading of this gentleman has been rather limited, and we will produce one or two curious passages, by which we have been confirmed in our belief. Speaking of Pope Alexander VI, the father of Cæsar Borgia, he says:

* *Cant. xvi. c. ii. sect. 1. note.*

"The curiosity of a free American citizen of the United States, may perhaps be excited to a desire to know a little of the character of a man, who once had the power of making a grant of the land they live in." p. 17.

He then gives us a passage concerning him, as quoted by Rescoe from Guicciardini, "an Italian historian," as he informs us, "of great estimation." We can assure Mr. Bozman that we were acquainted with a considerable number of free American citizens of the United States who, we seriously believe, did know a little of the character of Alexander VI, even before the publication of his history of Maryland.

This is not the only specimen of our author's friendliness of information. On some occasion he "begs leave to add a quotation from a work, which he has once or twice before cited, and which has been always held in high estimation by the literati of all Europe." The work is Bayle's Dictionary. He afterward proceeds to give us some account of its author.

Of Bayle and Hume he appears to be a great admirer. The latter he has endeavoured to imitate in his indirect attacks on Christianity. Nothing however can be more heavy and awkward than his attempts of this sort. Speaking of the indulgences granted by Leo X, he says:

"As the Christian religion, in its then organized state, acknowledged, and in the consent of a large majority of that religion still acknowledges the papal power, of granting a pardon and remission of all sins, Leo was naturally induced, through his philosophic and unbelieving mind, to yield to the superstition of his flock." p. 173.

Again:

"These indulgences certainly appear to the eye of reason, however long they may have been sanctioned by Christian usage and practice, as totally repugnant to those moral principles, adopted by the common consent of all mankind." p. 173.

Again:

"The good old Christian principle of 'compelling men to come in, that the house may be filled,' not a little recommended by Luther in Germany, and ardently adopted and enforced by Calvin in Geneva, was now as zealously revived in England by Mary." pp. 185, 186.

Again:

"She took the shorter method of roasting them alive. The

beneficial effects of this mode of Christian compulsion were soon perceived." p. 186.

We shall quote no more passages of this sort, except one which is quite remarkable.

" It cannot be asserted, however, that this pope Alexander was a worse man than Henry the eighth of England, the great royal reformer. What ornaments to Christianity are such characters!" p. 18.

Mr. Bezman cannot here be accused of imitation. It is beyond all question the first time that our religion was made accountable for the lives of men of such character. We do not know what better return we can make to him for the pieces of valuable information which it was his intention to bestow on us American readers, than to take the trouble distinctly to state to him in return, that Christianity is in fact no more accountable for the vices of Alexander VI and Henry VIII, than it is for Mr. John Leeds Bozman's having written so worthless a book about the History of Maryland.

ARTICLE 8.

Psyche, with other poems, by the late Mrs. Henry Tighe. Philadelphia, J. & A. Y. Humphreys, 1812. 12mo. pp. 290.

THE fable of Cupid and Psyche is to be traced to no higher origin than Apuleius, a Platonic philosopher of the second century. It is found in one of his writings, whose title is the Golden Ass, a work which he himself describes as a collection of fables. In this work, he represents himself as having been changed by magic into the form of an ass, and in this state as having passed through various adventures, and witnessed various scenes, till at last he recovered the shape of man. During his transformation he was seized and carried to a cave of robbers, the original perhaps of that described in Gil Blas. To the same subterranean retreat, was one day brought by the robbers a beautiful young lady. She was consigned by the banditti to the care of an old woman, who superintended their domestic concerns. She was full of dis-

tress, and her keeper, for the sake of relieving her affliction, related to her the story of Cupid and Psyche.

Psyche was the third and youngest daughter of a king, whose name and country are left to the fancy of the reader. In consequence of her surprising beauty, she was worshipped, with the ceremonies consecrated to Venus, whose altars were deserted and forgotten; and the goddess, whose service was thus neglected and profaned, sent her son to avenge her wrongs. In the mean time however Psyche, though she had the veneration, had not the love of any of her admirers. Her two elder sisters were married, but she remained single and disconsolate. On this account her father consulted an oracle, and received for answer, that she was to be exposed on a rock, with the rites of marriage mingled with those of a funeral, that no mortal would be her husband, but a winged being, fierce, cruel, and malicious, who subdued all things, and who was feared even by Jove. The oracular command was obeyed, and Psyche, weeping and trembling, was exposed in solitude to her fate.

From the place of her exposure, which on one side was the summit of a precipice, she was borne by Zephyrus to a grove beneath, and to a palace, splendid as those in Arabian fiction. Here all her wishes were gratified or prevented. Delicous food, baths, soft couches, and delightful music were all provided. In the darkness and silence of night she was visited by her lover, but he departed at the approach of day, and afforded her no opportunity of beholding his form and countenance. All this continued for some time; but one night he informed her, that her sisters, the next day, would visit the rock, where she was exposed, for the purpose of lamenting her as dead. He warned her of the danger of an interview with them, as what would probably produce much evil to him, and ruin to herself; and he told her at the same time, that the duration of her happiness depended upon her never beholding his person. Of the interview with her sisters, however, Psyche became passionately desirous; and at last, by entreaties and blandishments, obtained from her lover permission, that Zephyrus should transport them to the palace in the same manner in which she had been conveyed. This was accordingly done;

but her sisters were filled with envy at her prosperity, and plotted together the means of its destruction. At their third visit, by making use of some false stories, and by appealing to the oracle before mentioned, and by taking advantage also of the warning of her lover against her beholding his person, they persuaded her, that she had been married to a monster, a serpent, by whom she would in a short time be devoured, if she did not prevent it by destroying him in his sleep. Psyche believed the story, spent the day in trouble and horror, and before night secreted in her bed chamber a lamp and an instrument of death. Her lover came as usual, and fell asleep: Psyche rises, brings the lamp, approaches, and the god of love appears before her. The whole of this scene is described with great beauty and effect in the following passage,* which is not however from the poem of Mrs. Tighe. The description is sufficiently conformable to that of Apuleius,† except that the third verse has reference to an allegorical interpretation of the story hereafter to be mentioned.

Now trembling, now distracted; bold,
And now irresolute she seems;
The blue lamp glimmers in her hold,
And in her hand the dagger gleams.
Prepared to strike, she verges near,
The horzous sight expects with fear,
And—gazes on the god of Love!

* We have found this passage in the Quarterly Review of Mrs. Tighe's poem. It is there said to be taken from a poem on the same subject, published some years past.

† The following passage, is from Apuleius's description of Cupid. It has perhaps more beauty than any other which could be selected from his story.

“Videt capit is aurei geniale cæsarium, ambrosia temulentam, cervæ lacteas, genasque purpureas, perterrantes crinum globos decoriter impeditos, alias antependulos, alias retropendulos. . . . Per humeros volatilia Dei pinnæ roscide micanti flore caudicant; et quamvis alis quiescentibus, extimæ plumulae tenellæ ac delicate, tremule resultantes, inquiete lasciviant.”

Not such a young and wanton child
 As poets feign, or sculptors plan;
 No, no, she sees with transport wild,
 Eternal beauty veil'd in man.
 His cheek's ingrain'd carnation glow'd
 Like rubies on a bed of pearls,
 And down his ivory shoulders flowed
 In clustering braids his golden curlis;
 Soft as the eygnet's down his wings;
 And as the falling snow-flake fair,
 Each light elastic feather springs,
 And dances in the balmy air.
 The pure and vital stream he breathes
 Makes e'en the lamp shine doubly bright,
 While its gay flame enamour'd wreathes
 And gleams with scintillating light."

Psyche was overwhelmed with wonder and delight; she held the lamp with an unsteady hand, and a quantity of burning oil fell from it upon the neck of the god. He started from his slumbers, reproached her for her neglect of his warning, and for the crime she had meditated, and spread his wings to depart. Psyche clung to him, was borne with him through the air, till at last, relaxing her hold, she was left by him on the ground.

Venus soon learnt the extent of her son's disobedience, and determined to visit a full retribution on its author. The forlorn and wandering Psyche, after endeavouring, without success, to obtain the protection of Juno and Ceres, and finding herself proclaimed as a runaway by Venus, and a reward of seven kisses offered to him by whom she might be discovered and returned,* determines voluntarily to deliver herself up to her enemy. Venus receives her in a manner very unworthy, as it will seem to many readers, of the goddess of love, upbraids her in violent language, chastises her with her own hands, and bringing together a large number of different kinds

* The whole conception of the search after Psyche and the reward offered for her discovery is taken, as some of our readers will recollect, from the Idyll of Moschus; entitled 'Cupid runaway.'

of seeds, throws them in a heap, and commands her to separate them before night. Psyche gazes on them, stupefied by the contemplation of her task, and without any attempt to execute the command. A good natured little ant, however, who compassionates her sufferings, assembles the neighbouring nations of ants, brings them in a body, wave upon wave, (as Apuleius expresses it), and by their united labors they separate the seeds into distinct heaps. Venus returns from supper, drunk with wine, (*vino madens*), fragrant with ointments, and her whole body entwined with wreaths of roses, sees the labor performed, throws Psyche a crust of poor bread, and confines her for the night. The next morning she shows her a flock of wild and fierce sheep, with golden fleeces, in a neighbouring pasture, and commands her to bring a quantity of their wool. She goes, but it is for the purpose of casting herself into a river, to terminate all her miseries. The river speaks, (which we all know was the privilege of rivers in times of antiquity,) warns her against this act of desperation, and informs her how the wool may be obtained, from the bushes in which it had been caught. Psyche gathers a large quantity and returns, but Venus is yet unsatisfied. She commands her to go to the fountain of the river Styx, and to return with a vessel full of its waters. Psyche sets out, but as she approaches, she perceives that the fountain is on the summit of a craggy precipice, guarded by great numbers of serpents, while its waters themselves utter voices of prohibition and commands to depart. She regards with despair the impossible labor, but the bird of Jove, willing to propitiate the mistress of Cupid, descends, takes the vessel which she is carrying, fills it with the waters, and returns it to her again. Venus now appoints a fourth labor, which is, to visit Proserpine, and to bring from her a box of celestial beauty. The shortest way to the shades, Psyche thinks is self-destruction. She goes to a tower for the purpose of casting herself headlong, but the tower speaks as the river had done before, (for which we are afraid there is no precedent or authority), expositates with her on the unreasonableness of her design, and gives

her information how the living may descend to the abodes of the dead. Psyche follows the directions which are given, obtains the box from Proserpine, and returns. But on her way back, her curiosity again nearly proves her destruction. Contrary to an express direction which she had received from the tower, she opens the box, to examine its contents. It is filled with a deep and mortal sleep. This overpowers Psyche, and she falls down at once in the midst of her way. Cupid, mean while, had been confined in his mother's house, in consequence of the injury which he had received from the burning oil. Just about this time he had recovered, had flown out of his chamber window, (we follow the original,) and was seeking Psyche. He finds her in the state last described. Carefully wiping off the deep sleep, (we add nothing to the absurdity of Apuleius; his words are "deterso somno curiose,") he replaces it in the box, and awakes Psyche by pricking her with an arrow. He then flies to Jove, and obtains his consent to their union. Venus is reconciled to it through the intervention of the father of the gods, and his promise to make her daughter in law equal with a goddess. The gift of immortality is conferred upon Psyche, and her marriage with Cupid is celebrated in heaven.

Such is the fable of Apuleius, which is contained in the latter half of the fourth, the fifth, and part of the sixth book of the *Golden Ass*. The story of Cupid and Psyche was a favorite fiction of the ancients, and statues and engraved gems are yet remaining, in which they are represented in various situations. Psyche is in the Greek language the name for the soul, and principally, it would seem, from this circumstance, the fable was early conceived to have an allegorical meaning. Fleurie (the editor of the edition *in usum Delph.*) traces this mode of explaining it to Fulgentius, a Christian Father of the sixth century; and Warburton* says, that "there was no man, though he regarded the *golden ass* as a thing of mere amusement, but saw that the story of Cupid and Psyche was a *philosophic allegory of the progress of the soul to perfection, in the possess-*

* Divine Legation, vol. i p. 1. c. 2. sec. 4.

ion of Divine Love and the reward of immortality." For ourselves we have no belief that the story, as related by Apuleius, contains any hidden meaning, nor have we any admiration for its beauty. There can be no approach to plausibility, in giving far the greater part of its incidents an allegorical interpretation. But even if the case were otherwise, we should think sufficient objection might be brought against its having any serious purpose, from its whole complexion and style. With regard to the meaning which Warburton has supposed, we think the single argument against it conclusive, which arises from the circumstance, that Cupid is represented in this story as he commonly appears in the heathen poets, in a manner utterly unfit to be a personification of Divine Love. He is indeed spoken of as a being little older than usual; but otherwise there is no change in his character. Venus too, who is a very principal personage in the story, and who, according to the allegorical interpretation of it, is the mother of Divine Love, is described by Apuleius as so unamiable a scold, and so coarse in her language and conduct, that one would think that some mortal female, of no better fame than the goddess, had sat for her character. When all the ideas embraced in Warburton's supposition are fairly brought together, one is shocked at something more than their incongruousness and absurdity.

The fable of Cupid and Psyche, as related by Apuleius, engages us only as a story, and by some occasional beauty of expression. It has no power over the feelings, it gives us no moral impressions, it produces no concern about the characters introduced. Psyche is rendered wholly uninteresting, by her imbecility, her childish importunity against repeated warnings of danger, her want of all firmness and dignity in her sufferings, and her idle curiosity, which at last nearly proves her destruction. The characters of the gods are represented in the same style of burlesque, as they are in the dialogues of Lucian, or, if we may trust our memory concerning books, with which we cannot pretend to have much acquaintance, in the ribald imitations of Homer and Virgil. Venus is described, as we have said, beating Psyche with her

own hands, bawling* out her invectives against her son, having her face swelled with anger, and giving a deadly grin (*renidens exitiabile*) in imposing one of her labors upon Psyche. We shall not quote, for the edification of our readers, any specimens of her scolding; but one of her waiting maids, who seems to have caught the spirit of her mistress, and who first meets Psyche, as the latter comes to deliver herself up, tells her, among other bitter words, that she is particularly glad that she has fallen into her hands, and that in so doing she has got into the claws of hell. The character of Jove is not more respectable, than that of Venus is amiable. There is throughout the story a great coarseness of style and thought, and want of poetical conception. Nothing, for instance, can be more unpoetical, than to awake Cupid by scalding him with burning oil, or than all the subsequent references which are made to his misfortune. With regard to the mere story, some of its absurdities appear in the abstract we have given. It is impossible (to notice one example) that Psyche, though she had never beheld her lover, could have been so ignorant of his form, as to doubt whether he were a man or a serpent. The speaking tower is the most clumsy of all machinery. But this, and some other things, may perhaps be tolerated, if what we are much inclined to believe be the fact, that the latter part of the history, at least, was intended by its author for burlesque writing.

Worthless however as this fable is in the original, it has given occasion to some modern imitations of considerable beauty and merit. The work of Apuleius in which it is contained was published within thirty years after the invention of printing; and, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the episode of Cupid and Psyche had been translated into many of the languages of Europe. These however were meagre versions, which copied, with obstinate fidelity, all the faults of the original. It was not, therefore, until Moliere made it the subject of a comedy, that it was fairly known to any but students of ancient literature. It has been said that he was as-

* Jam inde a foribus quam maxime boans.

sisted in this work by Corneille; and it seems not improbable from the character of the pièce.

Apuleius, however, was destined to higher honors. While the comedy of Moliere was yet recent and familiar, La Fontaine took the same subject, and omitting or modifying what is offensive or uninteresting, and supplying what is deficient in the original, he produced one of the most amusing of romances. He complains of the labor it cost him; but it has no appearance of labor. All is easy, and simple, and colloquial. His gay and natural humor animates every incident, and gives the force of satire to every reflection. Even some parts of Apuleius, which seem least susceptible of ornament and interest, are made to minister to the general effect. The solemnity of Psyche's fate is relieved by humorous but appropriate ceremonies, and her fearful visit to Proserpine is rendered amusing, by a hint drawn from the object of her errand, that an artificial complexion could be found nowhere but in Erebus. Even the speaking tower becomes irresistibly ludicrous by its politeness and gallantry; and, instead of the monotonous address in Apuleius, this unwieldy and unpoetical machine converses with all the fluency and garrulity of a petit-maitre. "Bon jour, Psyché," lui dit elle, "que votre voyage vous soit heureux! Ce m' est un très grand honneur de vous recevoir entre mes murs: jamois rien de si charmant n'y étoit entré."* And afterwards, when she returns discolored and disguised by opening the forbidden box, she is again accosted in a style still more familiar, and almost impertinent: "Quoi! c'est vous, Psyché? qui vous a teint le visage de cette sorte? Allez vite vous laver,† etc. In almost every case he has been thus successful in imparting his own gay spirit to the conduct and machinery of his piece. The delusion of apparent facility is perfect. La Fontaine does not write—he converses.

* Good day, Psyche. I hope your journey will be prosperous. I consider it a great honor to receive you within my walls. They have never been entered by any thing so charming before.

† What is it you, Psyche? Who has discolored your face in this manner? Go quickly and wash yourself.

With such predecessors and rivals, Mrs. Tighe selected the story of Psyche for the subject of a poem. She too has considered the story as allegorical; but in her allegory, Cupid is the personification not of divine but of human love. She has placed her heroine at once in fairy land, and surrounded her with personifications of the virtues and passions, by which she is to be supported or misled.

The poem of Mrs. Tighe opens by discovering Psyche in the midst of her wanderings, oppressed with sorrow and exhausted by fatigue; but before the cause of her sufferings is explained, we are hurried back to her origin and descent. It is difficult to tell by what authority, or for what purpose, we are thus borne into the middle of the action, and then returned to its proper opening. The reason would be obvious, if the preceding events were related by a principal agent; for by such an artifice the interest and continuity of the story is perhaps more easily supported. But here, all is in the third person—no actor speaks, except of events or circumstances equally present to the reader and himself—and yet the succession is twice interrupted, and we are carried to the end of the second canto, before we reach the point from which we at first sat out.

The plan of Apuleius is followed with little variation, until the moment of Psyche's fall from happiness and innocence. It is however wrought with more mystery, and is better calculated to excite and sustain expectation. Mrs. Tighe has been judicious in her description of Psyche's act of disobedience and ruin. As this is the first important incident, and the immediate cause of all the calamities which follow, it should be introduced with some preparation. This is not done by Apuleius; but, in the English we have the following description of her hesitation and anxiety.

“ Trembling and breathless then she softly rose,
And seized the lamp where it obscurely lay,
With hand too rashly daring to disclose
The sacred veil, which hung mysterious o'er her woes.

Twice, as with agitated step she went,
 The lamp, expiring, shone with doubtful gleam,
 As though it warned her from her rash intent:
 And twice she paused—and on its trembling beam
 Gazed with suspended breath, while voices seem,
 With murmuring sound along the roof to sigh;
 As one just waking from a troubulous dream,
 With palpitating heart and straining eye,
 Still fixed with fear remains, still thinks the danger nigh."

pp. 37, 38.

The description which follows, of the discovery of Cupid, is languid and dilated, and far inferior to that we have before given. The termination of the scene however is with much violence and convulsion, and in this respect better imagined perhaps (though this is small praise) than that in Apuleius.

"—From her trembling hand extinguish'd falls
 The fatal lamp—he starts—and suddenly
 Tremendous thunders echo through the halls,
 While ruins hideous crash bursts o'er the affrighted walls." p. 40.

From this moment Mrs. Tighe leaves her guide, and rushes into the indefinite and undefinable mazes of allegory. In Spencer's verse, and with more than Spencer's mystery, the dangers, and duties, and happiness of love are explained by conflicts with wild beasts, and men more savage—by escapes from pit falls and floods—by travels through deserts, and voyages over tempestuous oceans—and by the supports, and pleasures of virtuous constancy.

The object of the wanderer now is to recover the favor of Venus. Of this she can have no hope, until she has performed certain mystical rites, compounded of the third and fourth labors in Apuleius. She is required to place an urn,

" Filled from immortal beauty's sacred spring,"
 on an altar raised to Venus;

" Where perfect happiness, in lonely state,
 Has fixed her temple in secluded bower,
 By foot impure of man untrodden to this hour." p. 44.

To execute this apparently impracticable requirement, she sets out on her journey, ignorant what course to pursue, for she was commanded to go, where human footsteps had never preceded her, and careless of consequences, because she despaired of obtaining the only object which was worth exertion. Despair however soon gives place to hope, and repentance procures her the direction of Innocence in the form of a dove.

In the third Canto, Love, disguised as a knight, and attended by a page, who proves to be Constancy, offers himself as her champion, and defends her from the violence of Passion, who immediately attacks her in the guise of a lion. He afterwards escapes with her from the bower of sensuality, and rescues her from the grasp of Ambition, into whose power she had been betrayed by Vanity and Flattery. The personification of Ambition, and the description of his palace and overthrow, are among Mrs. Tighe's happiest efforts.

" High o'er the spacious plain a mountain rose,
A stately castle on its summit stood:
Huge, craggy cliffs behind their strength oppose
To the rough surges of the dashing flood;
The rocky shores a boldly rising wood
On either side conceals: bright shine the towers,
And seem to smile upon the billows rude.
In front the eye, with comprehensive powers,
Sees wide extended plains enriched with splendid bowers.
Hither they bore the sad reluctant fair,
Who mounts, with dizzy eye, the awful steep;
The blazing structure seems high-poized in air,
And its light pillars tremble o'er the deep:
As yet, the heavens are calm, the tempests sleep,
She knows not half the horrors of her fate,
Nor feels th' approaching ruin's whirlwind sweep:
Yet, with ill-boding fears she passed the gate,
And turned with sickening dread from scenes of gorgeous state.

* * * * *

While yet he spake, loud bursts the groaning hall,
With frighful peal, the thundering domes resound,

Disjointed columns in wild ruin fall,
 While the huge arches tremble to the ground.
 Yet unappalled amid the crush is found
 The daring chief:"— pp. 71, 73.

At the opening of the fourth canto, the adventurers meet Slander and Credulity. The knight comes off from a contest with the former victorious, but not unhurt, while Psyche is diverted from the path, and separated from her champion by the latter. During her absence from his protection, she suffers severely in the castle of Suspicion, and after mingling in the motley train of Inconstancy, she at last falls a victim to Jealousy. In the cave of the latter, she learns that her knight was no other than Love himself, and at the moment of conviction and repentance, he is restored and reconciled to her.

In canto fifth, they reach the palace of Chastity, and are admitted by Hymen. But her penance forbids her stay. The remainder of her dangers are encountered on the ocean. She sets sail, and is near being wrecked on the coast of Spleen; but is sheltered by Patience, who is described with appropriate images.

More sweet than health's fresh bloom the wan hue seemed,
 Which sat upon her pallid cheek; her eye,
 Her placid eye with dove-like softness beamed,
 Her head unshielded from the pitiless sky,
 Loose to the rude wild blast her tresses fly,
 Bare were her feet, which pressed the shelly shore
 With firm unshrinking step; while smilingly
 She eyes the dashing billows as they roar,
 And braves the boisterous storm so oft endured before. p. 120.

In the sixth canto she pursues her voyage; but is gradually becalmed, and carried to the island of Indifference. The knight again rescues her. After this, she concludes her voyage, Constaney fills her urn from the mysterious fountain, and with Love she finds the unpolluted altar.

" Scarce on the altar had she placed the urn,
 When lo! in whispers to her ravished ear
 Speaks the soft voice of Love! ' Turn, Psyche, turn!

And see at last, released from every fear,
 Thy spouse, thy faithful knight, thy lover here!¹
 From his celestial brow the helmet fell,
 In joy's full glow, unveiled his charms appear,
 Beaming delight and love unspeakable,
 While in one rapturous glance, their mingling souls they tell.

p. 142.

The poem, considered as a whole, is of nearly equal merit. It would be easy, however, to point out its particular defects, and show that in many cases the allegory is incongruous, and that in some it fails entirely. There are faults of this kind which lie on the surface of the work, and which are obvious to the criticism of every reader.

Mrs. Tighe is such a poet as a person of correct taste and the power of versification may become by the diligent study of English poetry. Her thoughts are not unpleasing, her language is poetical, and her verses are elaborate, but they are for the most part languid and diffuse, and seldom animated by much of the spirit of original conception. She resembles in English the modern writers of Latin verses, who borrow from the ancients their language and modes of phraseology, without venturing on any new combinations, and whose thoughts are tamed and enfeebled by the difficulty and constraint which is found in their expression. Her personifications are unsubstantial and unsatisfactory; and her descriptions are too minute and dilated. Still many of Mrs. Tighe's readers may be pleased, though we believe none will be delighted.

The minor pieces, which fill the remainder of the volume, are of various merit; but they possess the same general character as the principal poem. Some of them however have a particular interest, from the circumstances in which they were written, in sickness and in the near prospect of death. From these and from the whole volume we receive the impression, that its author, if not very eminent as a poet, was a woman of amiable feelings, and elegant mind.

INTELLIGENCE.

HARVARD COLLEGE.

THE number of students who have entered the Freshmen class the present year is sixty nine. The whole number of undergraduates of the university is at present two hundred and eighty, viz.—

Senior sophisters	60
Junior sophisters	69
Sophomores	82
Freshmen	69
	<hr/>
	280

This is a larger number than there has been at any former period.

In consequence of the increased number of students, two new tutors, in the Latin and Greek languages, were added to the offices of instruction at the Commencement in 1811. Two additional tutors, one in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and another in the department of Rhetoric and Oratory have been added the present year. Beside the five medical professors, and the instruetor in the French language, the present number of governors and instructors, who are constantly resident in Cambridge, is eighteen.

The number of resident graduates, students in theology, is sixteen.

By a new regulation the library is opened during six hours each day (except the Sabbath) for the purposes of reading and the consultation of books.

THE Rev. WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING of Boston has been appointed to deliver the Dexter Lectures on Biblical Criticism, in the room of the late Rev. Mr. BUCKMINSTER.

THE Boylston prizes for the present year were given to the gentlemen whose names follow:—viz.

Prizes of £30 each.

To Mr. George B. English, A. M. for a dissertation on the origin and use of the masoretic points.

To Mr. Edward Everett, A. B. for a dissertation on the art of printing, with a comparative estimate of its advantages and disadvantages, in reference to the interests of truth and virtue.

Prizes of £20 each.

To Mr. Timothy Hilliard, A. B. for a dissertation on the nature of virtue and moral obligation.

To Mr. Joseph Haven, A. B. for a dissertation on the art of printing, &c. as above.

To Mr. John Brazer, then junior, now senior sophister of the University, for a dissertation on the nature and principles of taste.

To Mr. William W. Fuller, then junior, now senior sophister, for a dissertation on the art of printing, &c. as above.

SALE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE LATE REV. MR. BUCKMINSTER.

THE sale of Mr. Buckminster's library took place during the week of the Commencement of our University. The number of volumes which it contained was about 2360. The amount for which the whole library was sold was about £6000. The following are the prices at which several of the books were sold, with the names of the purchasers where known.* It will be seen with regard to some modern works, that their prices were greatly enhanced by their rarity in our country, and by the present difficulty of obtaining them from Europe.

Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae sive Concordantiale Lexicon Hebreo-Latin-Biblicum à Gul. Robertson. Londini. 1680. 1 vol. 4to. calf. £11,50

* The Editor, having a catalogue only partially marked, regrets that he is unable to mention the names of some of the gentlemen who were purchasers of the books which are mentioned.

Vetus Testamentum Græcum ex versione Septuaginta interpretatum juxta exemplar VATICANUM Romæ editum: Londini excudebat RODERICUS DANIEL. 1653. 1 vol. 4to. £11,25

Doctrine of the *Greek Article* applied to the N. Test. by T. F. MIDDLETON. London. 1808. 1 vol. 8vo. £6,12—Mr. Charles Eliot.

Gul. Saldeni de libris varioque eorum usu et abusu. Amstelodami. 1688. 1 vol. 12mo. (parchment.) £4,62

BIBLIA SACRA POLYGLotta LGNDINENSIA; WALTON; London. 1657, and LEXICON HEPTAGLOTTON, CASTELL. Lond. 1669. 8 vols. fol. A fine copy: containing the famous dedication to Charles II. £180
—Mr. Charles Eliot.

GROTII OPERA OMN. THEOLOGICA, Amst. 1679. ejusdemque EPISTOLE. 5 vols. fol. bound in vellum £42,50 Rev. Charles Burroughs.

Novum Testamentum Græcum, J. J. WETSTENII. Amst. 1751. [Interleaved in 4 vols. folio. Russia backs and edges, and perfectly new, very fine copy. Cost in London, 1807. 9l. 12s. 6d. sterling.]—£50—Mr. Charles Eliot.

Einleitung ins Alte Testament; Leipzig, 1787, und Kritischē Schriften. von J. G. EICHORN. Leipzig. 1803. 4 vols. 8vo.—£25—The Andover Institution.

J. BUXTORFII Lexicon, Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum. edit. nova. d. J. Buxtorfio fil. Basilic. 1640. 1. fol.—£21—Mr. Edward Everett.

Prospectus of a new translation of the Bible, by A. GEDDES, with a letter to the bishop of London, and a general answer to the queries, &c. of various persons; and an address to the public on the subject of his translation, &c. &c. 1 vol. 4to, London. 1786—87—93.—£8,25—Harvard University.

History of the troubles of Arch. Laud, written by himself. London, 1695. 1. fol. large paper.—£5—Harvard University.

J. BRUCKERI Hist. Philosophiae. edit. secunda. Lipsia. 1767. 6. 4to, large paper. calf gilt, gilt edges.—£61,50—Harvard University.

Charitonis de Chæra et Callirhoe amatoriaz narrationes. I. P. D'Orville, cum notis publicavit, et vertit J. J. Reiskius. Amstel. 1750. 1. 4to. large paper.—£5,75—Harvard University.

Lexicon Græc.-Lat. in Nov. Test. G. F. SCHLEUSNER. edit. nov. Lips. 1801. 4. 8vo.—£28—Mr. Jeremiah Evarts.

Historia vita Simonis Episcopii, à P. Limborch. Amstel. 1701. 1. 8vo.—£4—Harvard University.

Nov. Test. Græc. GRIESBACHII. Ed. 2da. Lond. et Hal. Sax. vol. 1. 1796. 2. 1806. royal 8vo. boards.—£25—Mr. Edward Everett.

Oratio Dominica CL. linguis versa, edente J. J. Marcel. Paris-

*iii. typis imperialibus, 1805. 1. 4to, large paper, splendid. boards.—\$16
—Boston Athenæum.*

BIBLIA HEBRAICA cum *variis lectionibus ex ingenti codicium copiâ*
à B. Kennicotto & J. B. Rossi collatorum. *Doderlein et Meissner.* Lipsiz.
1793. 1, 4to. [Blue morocco, largest and best paper.]—\$17,50—The
Andover Institution.

Bibliotheca antitrinitariorum a C. C. Sandio cum compendio Histo-
rie Ecclesiastice Unitariorum. Freistadii. 1684. 1. 12mo. [parch-
ment]—\$2,10—Mr. Charles Eliot.

J. VOLKELIUS de verâ religione et J. Crellius de Deo ejusque attribu-
tis. necnon de uno Deo patre. Amstel. 1642. 1. 4to. [A very rare work.
According to Sandius, one copy of it was sold for about \$50. The
present copy was once the property of the celebrated Anquetil du Per-
ron.]—\$6—Mr. Charles Eliot.

J. J. GRIZSBACHII symbolæ critioz. 2. 8vo. Halz. 1793. paper—
\$10,25—Mr. Jeremiah Evarts.

MAGNALIA Christi Americani, in seven books, by *Cotton Mather.*
Lond. 1702. 1. fol.—\$9,50—Mr. William Wells.

THESAURUS GRÆCÆ LINGUÆ AB HENRICO STEPHANO constructus,
impensis Henr. Stephani Oliva Genevæ. 4 vols. fol. Appendix libello-
rum ad thesaurum Græcæ linguae pertinentium. 1. folio, large paper.
—\$225—Salem Athenæum.

TOTIUS LATINITATIS LEXICON consilio et curâ JACOBI FACCIO-
LATI operâ et studio Egidii Forcellini. Patavii. 1771. 4 vols. folio, large
paper.—\$84—Salem Athenæum.

SCHLEUSNER'S LEXICON.

We shall give pleasure to a large portion of our readers
by the intelligence, that the republication of Schleusner's Lex-
icon of the New Testament, by Mr. Hilliard of this place,
which was announced in our first number, will be immediate-
ly commenced. The third Leipsic edition has been procured,
through the favor of Mr. Francis Parkman, and the proposed
republication of the work has been so favorably received, by
Christians of all denominations, that the publisher looks for-
ward to sufficient support, to enable him to proceed in this ve-
ry important and expensive undertaking, a publication of more
credit to the literary character of our country, and of more
difficulty in its execution, than any which has ever appeared

among us. We hope for the best effects, if this invaluable lexicon should become a common book among our theological students.

To the third and last edition, which was published in 1808, its author has prefixed a short additional preface, in which he states that he has added some new observations, (though not a great number, through fear of increasing the size and price of the work,) and has labored to free it from errors; and in this way to render it as perfect as possible. The estimation in which the work is held in Europe may be judged of, not only from the fact that three editions have appeared in so short a time in Germany, but also from the circumstance, that its republication is now commencing in London. We will again repeat what we have formerly said, that we hope this work will be patronized, not merely by theological scholars, but by gentlemen of fortune, who feel an interest in the promotion of religion, and of the critical knowledge of the scriptures; and who are desirous of increasing the literary reputation of our country.

We are much pleased to be able to state, that Professor Willard of Cambridge has been engaged to revise the press. He is a gentleman particularly qualified for this undertaking, from his knowledge of the Oriental and German languages. The whole work will be printed at Cambridge, and the most scrupulous attention will be used to produce a correct impression.

On account of the great expense of the work, which could not at once be estimated, it has been found necessary to increase its price from ten to twelve dollars. It will still remain a very cheap book. In the two volumes of the last edition there are 2714 closely printed octavo pages, interspersed with a great number of quotations in different languages.

FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

(Selected from the latest British publications.)

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AN historical sketch of the last years of the reign of Gustavus Adolphus the fourth, late king of Sweden. 8vo, 10s. 6d.

A history of the Long Parliament. By J. May, Esq. with plates, 4to, 1l. 11s. 6d.

A narrative of the principal events of the campaigns of 1809, 10, and 11, in Spain and Portugal. By Capt. Stothert. 8vo, 8s.

History of European commerce with India. By D. Macpherson. 4to, 1l. 16s.

The charter of the East India Company, which has been several times renewed, will expire after its last term of twenty years from 1794 in 1814. Various publications have appeared respecting the policy of a further renewal. Among others a Letter from the Marquis Wellesley to the Court of Directors on the trade of India; written in 1800. 1s. 6d.—Report on the negotiation between the Hon. East India Company and the public respecting the renewal of the Company's exclusive privileges of trade, for twenty years from March 1794. By J. Bruce, M. P. 4to, 15s.—Remarks on the extention of territory which has taken place in India with reference to the renewal of the charter. 1s. 6d.

An inquiry into the progressive value of money, as marked by the price of agricultural products; with observations upon Sir George Shuckburg's Table: deduced from a variety of authorities never before collected; proving the Non-Depreciation of Paper. By Arthur Young, Esq. F. R. S. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Windham's Speeches have been collected and published, with a biographical preface relating to the events of his political life. By Thomas Amyot, Esq. 3 vols. 8vo.

The life and administration of the Rt. Hon. Spencer Perceval. By Charles Verulam Williams. 6s. boards.

Lecture on the origin and general influence of the wars of

the French Revolution; delivered in the university of Dublin.
By George Miller, D. D.

The second part of Dr. Clarke's Travels; containing his travels in Greece, Egypt, the Holy Land, &c. 1 vol. 4to.

A sketch of the present state of Caraccas, including a journey from Caraccas through La Victoria to Puerto Cabello.
By Robert Semple. 6s.

Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies. By J. Thompson. Vol. I. 4to, 1l. 11s. 6d.
To be completed in five volumes.

Voyages and Travels in the years 1809, 10, and 11, containing statistical, commercial, and miscellaneous observations on Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, and Turkey. 4to, 2l. 2s.
royal paper 3l. 8s.

Picturesque representation of the manners, customs, and amusements of the Russians; illustrated by one hundred copper plates, beautifully colored from the original drawings, with an accurate explanation of each plate in French and English.
By John Augustus Atkinson. 3 vols. large folio, 15l. 15s.
boards.

A great number of publications have appeared respecting the British and Foreign Bible Society, and in the controversy which has arisen, whether this society should be supported by members of the established church, so long as the Common Prayer Book is not distributed with the Bible. Among these, in addition to those mentioned in our last number, we shall particularly notice only two—a publication of Professor Marsh, which is entitled, An inquiry into the consequences of neglecting to give the Common Prayer Book with the Bible—and Three Letters on the subject of the British and Foreign Bible Society, addressed to the Rev. Dr. Marsh and J. Coker, Esq. By the Rt. Hon. N. Vansittart.

We are glad to find that Professor Marsh is not wholly occupied in temporary controversies. He has published a new, and what would seem from its title, a laborious and valuable work—a History of the translations which have been made

of the Scriptures, from the earliest to the present age, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. 1 vol. 8vo.

The Book of Job, literally translated from the original Hebrew, and restored to its natural arrangement; with notes critical and illustrative; and an introductory dissertation on its scene, scope, language, and author. By John Mason Good, F. R. S. Memb. Amer. Phil. Soc. and F. L. S. of Philadelphia. 8vo, 16s.

Dr. Horsley's Letters in controversy with Dr. Priestley have been republished by his son, the Rev. H. Horsley, A. M. Prebendary of St. Asaph, and late student of Christ's Church, Oxon. He has added to them a reply to Mr. Belsham's review of the controversy.

A third volume of Bishop Horsley's posthumous sermons has appeared.

A defence of modern Calvinism; containing an Examination of the Bishop of Lincoln's work, entitled a Refutation of Calvinism. By E. Williams, D. D. 8vo, 12s.

The collation of the MS. of the Hebrew Pentateuch (mentioned in our second number, p. 404.) which was procured in India by Dr. Buchanan, has been completed, and the work is now published. We are gratified to be able to add, that Dr. Buchanan has presented two copies of this work, one to the library of Harvard College, and another to that of Yale College. These were presented through the medium of the Rev. Dr. Holmes of Cambridge, and now wait his order at the bookseller's in London.

Dr. Rees' Cyclopaedia has been published as far as to the end of the XXII volume, with an additional Part of plates.

Mr. Davy we find has been knighted. His name with its addition appears in the title page of the first volume of his Elements of Chemistry, which is now published, and will undoubtedly excite much interest and attention; 18s.

Dr. Thompson, the author of the System of Chemistry, has just published the history of the Royal Society (in 4to.) which was some time since announced. 2 guineas.

Of the management of light in illuminations; together with

an account of a new portable lamp. By Benjamin, Count of Rumford. 8vo, 1s.

Professor Playfair has published the heads of his Lectures, delivered at the university of Edinburgh, under the title of *Outlines of Natural Philosophy*. 8vo, 9s.

An elementary treatise on plane Astronomy. By Robert Woodhouse, A.M. F.R.S. Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. 8vo, 15s. fine paper 4l.

The eleventh volume of the *Encyclopædia Londinensis*, or Dictionary of Arts, Science, and Literature.

Account of the Systems of Husbandry, adopted in the more improved districts of Scotland. By Sir John Sinclair. 8vo, 18s.

An account of a particular preparation of salted fish, to be used with boiled rice or boiled potatoes, for the purpose of lessening the consumption of wheaten bread. By Richard Pearson, M. D. 8vo, 1s. 6d.

A description of the ancient marbles in the British Museum, with engravings; Part I. 4to, 1l. 5s.

Euripidis Phoenissa, ad fidem manuscriptorum emendata, et brevibus notis emendationum potissimum rationes reddentes instructa, in usum studiosæ juventutis. Edidit Richardus Porson, A. M. &c. A new edition, with the author's last corrections. 8vo. 8s. sewed.

Memoir of the public life of John Horne Tooke, Esq. By W. H. Reid.

The two first volumes of the new edition of the General Biographical Dictionary, (which was some time since announced,) revised and improved by Mr. Chalmers, have appeared.

It will interest and gratify our readers to be informed that the author of the Village and of the Borough is about to publish a new volume of poetry, a collection of tales.

Poems and Translations. By Reginald Heber, Esq. 6s. boards.

The works of Beaumont and Fletcher; with an introduction and explanatory notes. By H. Weber, Esq. 54 vols. 8vo. 8l. 8s.

A poem of Lucien Buonaparte, entitled Charlemagne, has been published on the continent under a feigned name.

Portugal, a poem in two parts. By lord George Grenville.
4to. 15s.

Tales of the East, comprising the most popular romances of Oriental origin, with the best imitations by European authors; with new translations and additional tales never before published. To which is prefixed an introductory dissertation, containing an account of each work and its author or translator. By Henry Weber, Esq. 8 vols. royal 8vo. 3l. 18s.

Traits of nature, a novel. By Miss Burney, author of Clarentine, &c. 5 vols. 12mo. 1l. 10s.

Essay on the preservation of shipwrecked persons, with a descriptive account of the apparatus. By Capt. Manby. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

During his stay in India, Sir James Mackintosh has been employed in compiling an History of England since the Revolution, as a continuation of Hume's history. It will form 4 vols. 4to. He has received 6000l. for the copy right.

The third edition of Schleusner's Lexicon is republishing in London,

LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS

FOR JULY, AUGUST, AND SEPTEMBER, 1812.

N. B. All notices of works published, or proposed to be published, which may be forwarded to the publisher of this work, free of expense, shall be inserted in this list.

NEW WORKS.

Works to which an asterisk is prefixed are in the Athenaeum, Boston.

THE history of North Carolina; with a map of North Carolina. By Hugh Williamson, M.D. 2 vol. 8vo. Philadelphia, Thomas Dobson,

* An essay on the organic diseases and lesions of the heart and great vessels. From the clinical lectures of J. N. Corvisart, published under his inspection, by C. E. Moreau. Translated from the French, with notes by Jacob Gates, M.M.S.S. Boston, Bradford & Reed.

The martyrs, or the triumph of the Christian religion. Translated from the French of F. A. de Chateaubriand, with notes.

A compendious treatise on the use of the globes, and of maps. By John Lathrop, jun. A. M. Boston, J. W. Burdett & Co. and W. Wells.

Catalogue of the library of the late Rev. J. S. Buckminster. Boston, J. Eliot, jun.

- The message of the President respecting the war with Great Britain—the report of the Committee of Foreign Relations—the act of Congress declaring war—and the proclamation of the President. Boston, Munroe & Francis.

- An address of Members of the House of Representatives of Congress to their constituents on the subject of the war with Great Britain.

- An address of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to the people of that State on the subject of the war with Great Britain.

- Mr. Madison's war. A dispassionate inquiry into the reasons alleged by Mr. Madison, for declaring an offensive and ruinous war against Great Britain. Together with some suggestions as to a peaceable and constitutional mode of averting that dreadful calamity. By a New-England farmer. Three editions. Boston, Russell & Cutler.

- Message of his excellency Governor Griswold, to the General Assembly of Connecticut, at their special session, August 25, 1812, with the documents accompanying the same. New-Haven, Walter & Steele.

- An oration pronounced at Worcester, Mass. on the thirty sixth anniversary of American Independence, July 4, 1812. By Francis Blake. Worcester, Sturtevant.

- An address delivered before the Washington Benevolent Society, at Portsmouth, July 4, 1812. By Daniel Webster, Esq.

- An oration delivered at Charlestown on the fourth of July. By Jeremiah Evarts.

- An oration at Providence, (R. I.) on the fourth of July. By John Pitman, jun.

- An oration at Pittsfield on the fourth of July. By William C. Jarvis.

- Hamilton to the Federalists of the United States on the choice of a President. New-York, printed for the author.

Touchstone to the people of the United States on the choice of a President. New-York, Peters & Gould.

A history of French influence in the United States. To which is added an exposition of a congressional caucus. New-York, J. Eastburn.

Speech of the Hon. George Sullivan, at the late Rockingham Convention: with the memorial and resolutions, and report of the committee of Elections. Master, E. C. Beals.

- * A solemn protest against the late declaration of war; in a discourse delivered on the next Lord's day after the tidings of it were received. By David Osgood, D. D. pastor of the church in Medford. Cambridge, Hilliard & Metcalf.
- * A sermon preached in Boston, July 23, 1812, the day of the public Fast appointed by the Executive of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, in consequence of the declaration of war against Great Britain. By William Ellery Channing. Boston, Greenough & Stebbins.
- * A sermon preached in Boston, August 20, 1812, the day of humiliation and prayer, appointed by the President of the United States, in consequence of the declaration of war against England. By William Ellery Channing, minister of the church in Federal-street. Boston, C. Stebbins.
- * Two sermons, one on the day of the State Fast, and the other on the day of the National Fast. By John Lathrop, D. D. pastor of the second church in Boston.
- * A sermon delivered at Trinity Church, Boston, on the day of the State Fast. By J. S. J. Gardiner, Rector.
- * A sermon preached at Charlestown on the day of the State Fast. By Jedidiah Morse, D. D.
- A sermon preached on the day of the National Fast. By Henry Chapman, pastor of the third congregational society in Hingham.
- * A sermon preached on the day of the State Fast. By Peter Whitney, A. M. pastor of the congregational society in Quincy.
- * A sermon preached at Brookfield on the day of the State Fast. By Micah Stone, minister of the south parish.
- * A sermon preached on the day of the National Fast. By Eliphalet Gillett, minister in Hallowell, Me.
- A sermon preached on the day of the State Fast. By E. Parish, A. M. minister of the church at Byfield.
- * A sermon preached at the Tabernacle in Salem, on the day of the State Fast. By Samuel Worcester, D. D.
- A discourse preached on the day of the National Fast. Also the substance of a discourse preached Sabbath-day, Aug. 9, 1812. By Samuel Worcester, D. D.
- Two discourses on the day of the National Fast. By Rev. John Gillett of Newburyport.
- The same (second edition) with criticisms and remarks by other hands.
- A discourse on the day of the State Fast in Connecticut. By Timothy Dwight, D. D. president of Yale College.
- A sermon preached on the day of the State Fast in Connecticut. By Nathan Strong, D. D. pastor of the north presbyterian church in Hartford.

Two sermons preached on the thirtieth of July and twentieth of August (being days of Fasting, &c.) With a preface. By James Abercrombie, D. D. Phil. Moses Thomas.

A sermon preached at Baltimore on the day of National Fast. By Samuel Knox, A. M. principal of Baltimore college.

Two sermons preached in the Dutch church at Greenwich, New-York, on the Fast day appointed by the Governor. By Rev. S. N. Rowan.

A sermon preached before the General Assembly of Connecticut, at the anniversary election, in the city of Hartford, May 14, 1812. By Moses C. Welch, D. D. pastor of the church in North Mansfield.

A sermon delivered before the Massachusetts Missionary Society, on the thirtieth anniversary, May 26, 1812. By Leonard Woods, D. D. &c.

A sermon preached at Northampton, before the Foreign Missionary Society of Northampton and the neighbouring towns. By Evan Johns, A. M.

A missionary sermon preached at Hartford, at the request of the Trustees of the Missionary Society of Connecticut. By Diodate Brockway, pastor of the church in Ellington.

A discourse delivered at Rutland, (Vt.) east parish, before the Female Charitable Society, Jan. 15, 1812. By Heman Ball, A. M. minister of the gospel in that town.

A sermon delivered at Sutton, March 18, 1812; as preliminary to the formation of a society in the county of Worcester, for the aid of pious young men with a view to the ministry. By Benjamin Wood, pastor of the church in Upton.

A sermon delivered at the inauguration of the Rev. Ebenezer Porter, A. M. to the office of Bartlett Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in the Theological Institution at Andover, April 1, 1812. By Abiel Holmes, D. D. minister of the first church in Cambridge.

The dignity and excellence of the gospel illustrated; in a discourse delivered April 8, 1812, at the ordination of the Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor, as pastor of the first church and congregation in New-Haven. By Timothy Dwight, D. D. LL. D. &c.

A sermon delivered at the ordination of Mr. James Johnson to the work of the gospel ministry in Potsdam, (N. Y.) March 11, 1812. By Amos Pettengill of Champlain. Plattsburg, (N. Y.) A. C. Flagg.

A sermon delivered at Haverhill, (Mass.) Feb. 5, 1812, on the occasion of two young ladies being about to embark, as the wives of the Rev. Messrs. Judson and Newell, missionaries to India. By Jonathan Allen, pastor of the first church in Bradford.

A sermon delivered at the funeral of Samuel Abbot, Esq. one of the founders of the Theological Seminary in Andover. By Leonard Woods, D. D. Abbot Professor of Christian Theology.

A Discourse delivered at the funeral of Rev. Eliza Thayer, D. D. pastor of the church in Kingston (N. H.). By John H. Church, pastor of the church in Pelham.

An address delivered June 24, 1812, at the funeral of Mrs. Sarah Cumming, consort of the reverend Hooper Cumming, pastor of the second presbyterian church in Newark (N. J.). By James Richards, A. M. pastor of the first church. New York, Whiting & Watson—second edition. Boston, S. T. Armstrong.

A sermon occasioned by the death of the late Rev. John N. Abel, D. D. one of the pastors of the reformed Dutch church in New York. By Alexander Gunn, A. M. pastor of said church.

The doctrine of decrees essential to the divine character, a sermon preached at New Haven (Vt.) By Josiah Hopkins, pastor of the congregational church in that town.

Two sermons on the doctrines of grace; the free agency of man, and the use of means. By Isaac Brainerd, pastor of the congregational church in Verona, Oneida co (N. Y.) Utica, Ira Merrill.

Letters and sketches of sermons, in 3 vols. By John Murray, senior pastor of the first universal society in Boston—2d vol. Boston, J. Belcher.

Religious tracts, No. 1. Published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, piety, and charity. Boston, Munroe & Francis.

Report of the Massachusetts Bible Society.

Third report of the Connecticut Bible Society.

A discourse delivered before the New York Historical Society, at their anniversary meeting, Dec. 6, 1811. By Hon. De Witt Clinton, one of the vice presidents of the Society. New York, J. Eastburn.

A discourse delivered before the Humane Society of Massachusetts, June 9, 1812. By Henry Colman, minister of the third church in Hingham.

A discourse delivered before the Merrimack Humane Society at their anniversary meeting, Sept. 1, 1812. By John Andrews, A. M. minister of the first church in Newburyport.

* An address occasioned by the death of General Lingan, who was murdered by the mob at Baltimore. Delivered at Georgetown, Sept. 1, 1812. By George Washington Park Custis. Boston, Bradford & Read.

The trial of Col. Thomas H. Cushing, before a general court martial, which sat at Baton Rouge, on charges preferred against him by brigadier general Wade Hampton. Reported by the late judge advocate.

The institution and proceedings of the society of the Cincinnati, formed May 10, 1783: with the proceedings of the Massachusetts State Society of the Cincinnati from its organization, June 9, 1783 to July 4, 1811. Boston, T. B. Wait & Co.

A hand book for infantry. A hand book for riflemen. Duane's Military Dictionary. Do. do. Library. Philadelphia, W. Duane.

Ordinances of the corporation of the city of Philadelphia. Published under the authority of the council, with notes and references by John C. Lowber. Philadelphia, Moses Thomas.

United we stand, divided we fall. A poem by Juba. New York, D. & G. Bruce.

The diverting history of John Bull and Brother Jonathan, by Hector Bullus.

The beauties of Brother Bullus, by his loving sister Bulla.

The Wars of the Gauls; an historical romance, in three chapters.

An oration pronounced at Montreal, (Lower Canada), on the anniversary of St. John the Baptist, June 24, A. M. 1812. By brother Benjamin Gleason, A. M.

A map of Canada, or the seat of war, 1 sheet medium: Philadelphia, M. Cary.

NEW EDITIONS.

American.

An apology for the right of infant baptism, and for the usual modes of baptizing. By John Reed, D. D. pastor of a church and congregation in Bridgewater. Boston, William Wells.

Foreign Works.

Essays on the nature and principles of taste. By Archibald Alison, LL. B. F. R. S. prebendary of Sarum, &c. From the Edinburg edition of 1811. Boston, Cummings & Hilliard.

Tales of fashionable life. By Miss Edgeworth, vol. iii. containing Vivian and Emilie de Coulanges. Boston, Bradford & Read.

The Absentee. By Miss Edgeworth, 2 vols. [The three tales mentioned above were all published by Miss Edgeworth as additional to her former Tales of fashionable life. We are indebted to Messrs. Bradford & Read, for giving us a much cheaper and neater edition of the two first, than has appeared of the Absentee, which has been republished separately.]

Temper, or domestic scenes; a novel. By Mrs. Opie, 2 vols. Boston, Bradford & Read. There has been likewise another edition.

The Isle of Palms, and other poems. By John Wilson, of Magdalen College, Oxford. New York, J. Eastburn.

The speech of Henry Brougham, Esq. M. P. in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, June 16, 1812, upon the present state of commerce and manufactures, from a report taken in short hand, and corrected by himself. Philadelphia, Bradford & Inskeep.

An abstract of the evidence, lately taken in the House of Commons, against the Orders in Council. New York, W. Eliot.

Steel's navy list for June. New-York, J. Eastburn. Philadelphia, J. F. Watson.

Rules and regulations in the field exercise and manœuvres of the French infantry; issued Aug. 1, 1798: and the manœuvres added which have since been adopted by the emperor Napoleon. Philadelphia, A. Finley.

A course of Mathematics for the use of academies, as well as private tuition. By Charles Hutton, LL. D. F. R. S. revised and corrected by Robert Adrian, A. M. Professor of Mathematics in Queen's College, N. J.

The art of preserving all kinds of animal and vegetable substances, for several years in their original state, without the expense of sugar, &c. A work published by order of the French minister of the interior, on the report of the board of arts and manufactures; and which, in a few months, run through several London editions.

The history of America. By William Robertson, D. D. Lancaster, (Penn.) W. Greene.

An abridgment of Dr. Mosheim's ecclesiastical history, 1 vol. 12mo. Philadelphia. D. Hogan.

The Christian's pattern; or, a treatise of the imitation of Christ: in four books. By Thomas à Kempis. To which are added meditations and prayers for sick persons. By George Stanhope D. D. Boston, S. T. Armstrong.

Dr. Watts' Improvement of the Mind. Boston, Isaiah Thomas.

The Believer's pocket companion. By William Mason. New York.

Baxter's Call to the unconverted. Salem, H. Whipple.

Works in the press, or proposed to be published.

An inquiry into the diseases of the mind. By Benjamin Rush, M. D. Professor of the Institutes, and practice of medicine, in the University of Pennsylvania. This work will contain about 400 pages 8vo. and will embrace not only all the different forms of madness, but the physical history of the diseases of the passions, and their respective remedies. Philadelphia, Kimber & Richardson.

The historical and chirurgical account of the expedition of the (French) army of the East, in Egypt and Syria. By D. J. Sarrey, doctor of the special school of Medicine at Paris, chief surgeon of the army of the East, &c. &c. Translated from the French by Richard W. Hall, M. D. adjunct professor of midwifery and the diseases of women and children, in the College of Medicine, Maryland; member of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, &c. &c. In 1 vol. 8vo. Baltimore, E. J. Coale.

An accurate and interesting account of the hardships and sufferings

of that band of heroes, who traversed the wilderness in the campaign against Quebec in 1775. By John Joseph Henry, Esq. late president of the second judicial district of Pennsylvania. Lancaster, (Penn.)

The New Jersey Preacher, being a volume of sermons on plain and practical subjects, by some of the most popular ministers of the gospel residing in New Jersey.

Kimpton's history of the bible, containing an account of every remarkable transaction recorded in the sacred scriptures, during a period of upwards of 4000 years. 4 vols. 8vo. Both the above by D. Fenton Trenton, N. J.

S. T. Armstrong is printing a volume of original sermons on various important subjects of doctrine and practice. By Rev. Nathanael Emmons, D. D.

S. T. Armstrong proposes to print by subscription a gazetteer of the bible. By Elijah Parish, D. D. 1 vol. 8vo. about 500 pages. Price to subscribers £2,50.

John F. Watson has in the hands of the engravers, Heather's chart of the western ocean, to be published in two months. He intends to offer it on such terms to chart-sellers as may prevent its future importation.

ERRATA.

Page 301, note, l. 2 from "for," to the end of the sentence should be marked as a quotation.

305, l. 1, for "are" read is.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The editor has now completed two volumes of the Repository; and the public have it in their power to determine what has been, and what, if the work continues, will probably continue to be its merit. He has been very essentially indebted to some of his friends for assistance, without which it would have been impossible for him to have succeeded in his undertaking. He does not suspect, that they will think him insensible to the value of the favors they have conferred.

In speaking of those from whom he has received assistance, he has no fear of intruding any private sorrows, in mentioning the loss of one, by whose friendship he was encouraged, and by whose counsel he was directed; of one, whose loss is felt in every thing, which relates to letters or to religion. In another place, he has endeavoured to pay that tribute to his memory, which is all that gratitude and affection now have it in their power to perform.

Whether the work will be continued through another year, depends on circumstances, over which the editor has no control. It cannot be so continued, unless the public patronage be very essentially increased. If it should be thought by the friends of literature, of correct principles, and of rational religion, to be of any service, in respect to those objects which they are desirous of promoting, it would gratify him to be enabled to pursue his labors. If it should not be so considered, or if the number of these should be insufficient for its support, he will seek for some other employment, where his exertions may be more useful, or more acceptable.

He made few engagements at the commencement of the work, and, if it should be continued, he is not willing to make promises of improvement. Some alterations, however, he intends, which will perhaps render it more generally interesting. The theological department has, from various circumstances, occupied more space, than he originally designed, and will, in future, be somewhat contracted. It is his intention, if it should be in his power, to devote a greater portion of the work to reviews and to polite literature. From friends, who have not yet afforded their aid, he has reason to expect it, if it should be wanted, in future numbers: whether it will be thus wanted, it now remains for the public to decide.

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THE
GENERAL REPOSITORY.

Vol. II.

JULY, 1812.

No. 1.

Theological Department.

NEC TEMERE, NEC TIMIDE.

THE MORNING INQUIRY, No. II.*

An examination of the terms “The Deity of Christ.”

As the terms *Deity* and *God* are of synonymous import, it would be natural to suppose that by “the Deity of Christ” would be meant the *God* of Christ. And in an essay or sermon on “the Deity of Christ,” we might reasonably expect to find something said to show what *Being*, Christ acknowledged as *his God*. On this point the scriptures would afford the most ample evidence; for they assure us that he acknowledged his “Father,” as the “only true God.” He also taught that he was the only begotten son of God. This God the apostle Paul expressly styled “the GOD AND FATHER OF our Lord Jesus Christ.”

But when we look into a discourse on “the Deity of Christ,” we usually find an attempt to prove that he himself is that *very God*, whom he acknowledged as “the only true God.”

As Christ was God’s *own* and *only son*, and as in him the Father was ever well pleased, so God has honored him as an *only son*; he has given him divine *titles*, divine *offices*, divine *au-*

* For the first Number, see vol. i. p. 78.

thority, and divine sufficiency, and by him God has performed divine works. These effects of the Father's love are detached from their source or cause, and made the ground of arguments to prove the Son's absolute independence; and that he is, in fact, the very "living God," whom he ever loved, adored, and obeyed; yea, that he is personally and really "the only true God."

But notwithstanding all the labor to prove, that Christ is the self-existent Deity, the same writers confidently affirm, that the "revealed God is three distinct persons." Let us then, before we proceed any farther, compare these two CARDINAL POINTS.

In one of them it is affirmed, that the "revealed God is three distinct persons." Of course, those who deny this doctrine are considered as a sort of semi-atheists; as persons who deny the "revealed God." Yet the other cardinal point affirms, "the Deity of Christ," that he is "truly God;" yea, "God in the highest use of the term," and "the only true God." Yet he is but *one person*. He is, therefore, not the "revealed God;" for the "revealed God" is affirmed to be *three distinct persons*.

With equal consistency we might affirm, that a *yard* is *three distinct feet*; yet *one* of those feet is a *proper yard*, a *yard* in the highest sense of the term.

But leaving this inconsistency to be reconciled by the advocates for the doctrine, we may farther examine the terms "the Deity of Christ."

The doctrine of three distinct persons in one God has been, indeed, variously explained; but no explanation has yet been given, which can be reconciled to the idea of "the Deity of Christ." While one explanation makes him a *mere mode* of God's existence, another makes him a *mere attribute*, and another a *mere office*. Some indeed affirm of each of the *three persons*, that he is a *distinct agent* in the one God. But to be *one of three agents in the one God* is a very different thing from being the *Deity* in a strict and proper sense of the term.

Distinct persons are *distinct objects*, and *distinct objects*, however they may be united, are capable of *distinct consider-*

ration. When distinct things are united in one object, the object is complex; and the *distinct things* are but *parts* or *members* of the complex object.

It is indeed asserted that the *three distinct persons* are *one essence*. But what can be meant by this assertion? Is it meant that a *divine person* is not *divine essence*? If not divine essence, what is a *divine person*? The *divine persons* must be either *something* or *nothing*. If something, they must probably be *some essence*. If *some essence*, why not *divine essence*? But if each *person* be *divine essence*, then the *persons* must be *distinct essences*, for as *persons* they are *distinct*.

If, in the one God, there be three *distinct persons*, is it not obvious, that neither of those persons, distinctly considered, can properly be called the *DEITY*, or *SUPREME BEING*? While that *Being* is supposed to consist of *three distinct, coequal persons*, neither of the persons can be properly considered as *any thing* more than a *distinct portion* or *member* of the one God; and at most, but a *third part* of the *Supreme Being*.

I have ventured to use the word *part*; for if the unity of God does not exclude the distinction of *persons*, it does not exclude the distinction of *parts*. Is it possible to conceive of *three distinct persons* in *one being*, otherwise than as *distinct members* or *parts* of that *being*? If not, then he who does conceive of *three distinct persons* in God, does conceive of them as *three distinct members* or *parts*, whether he be willing to acknowledge it, or not.

There is one point, on which information is needed from our trinitarian brethren, viz. whether they suppose, that the *three persons* include *all* that is implied in the terms the *SUPREME BEING*, or whether they consider the *Deity* as an *object* in which the *three persons* are *united*, as *three distinct branches* are *united* in *one tree*.

The Damianiists of the sixth century "distinguished the *divine essence* from the *three persons*, viz. Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. They denied that each *person* was God, when considered in itself and abstractedly from the other two; but they affirmed at the same time, that there was a *common divinity*,

by the joint participation of which each person was God. They called the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost *Hypostases* or persons, and the Godhead common to them all substance or nature."*

This sect was, by Mosheim, called a "faction," but much of the language used by trinitarians of the present age perfectly accords with the views of Damian. They speak of the Supreme Being as one proper person; they constantly use a singular pronoun as a substitute for the names of Deity, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; they speak of as persons of the one God; one of the persons they call *his Son*; another *his Spirit*; and why might they not as properly call the other *his Father*? Such a manner of speaking of the one God and the three persons, most naturally suggests the idea that the one God is considered as an object distinct from either of the persons, and that the three persons are united to the Supreme Being as three branches to one tree, three members to one body, or three streams to one fountain.

But this manner of conceiving of the "mystery" seems to imply four persons, one as supreme, and three as subordinate. The supreme Being, as such, is fairly represented as one person only, by the constant use of singular pronouns. Then we have the three coequal persons, neither of which is the Supreme Being, but only a *distinct member* of the Supreme Being. If the Supreme Being, as such, be the only proper object of worship, then neither of the persons, as a *distinct person*, can be an object of worship. But if each of the persons, as such, be an object of worship, then we have *four objects* of worship, one as supreme, and three as subordinate,—or one as the head, and three as the members.

As a tree with three equal branches has been supposed by some trinitarians to be an apt illustration of the doctrine of three persons in one God, it is hoped that no blame will be attached to the introduction of the simile in this place. And if the three distinct persons be only three distinct branches of the Supreme Being, it will be impossible to tell how much, or

* Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 130.

what portion, of Deity is implied in the person of Christ. It is, however, certain that it can be no more than one third; and it may be much less. But if the three distinct persons, as such, comprise the whole of Deity, then Christ is just one third of the Supreme Being, and no more.

That our trinitarian brethren do conceive of the Father and Son, as distinct portions or members of Deity may appear from this circumstance, viz. They suppose the Son, or second person, to be so united to the man Jesus, that the Son and the Man are but *one person*; and that the obedience, suffering, and death of the man, in that state of union, may properly be called the obedience, suffering, and death of the Son of God. But they do not suppose, that either the Father or the Spirit was thus united to the Man, or *human nature*. On their theory the man Jesus is the Son's *human nature*. But were the three persons but one individual essence, if the essence of one person were united to the man Jesus, the essence of all the persons would be equally united to that man. Therefore if the essence of the Son be united to *human nature*, and the essence of the Father be not united, they are *distinct essences*.

If it were proper to affirm "the Deity of Christ," as many have done, the man, or *human nature*, to which the Son was united, would be properly the *human nature* of the *Deity* or *Supreme Being*. These conclusions, it is believed, cannot be set aside but by affirming, that the *three persons* are mere *non-entities*.

But if, to set aside these conclusions, it shall be said, that it was the *divine person* of the Son and not the *essence* of the Son, which was united to the "man of Nazareth," I would ask, how is the *divinity of Christ* to be supported? Can we affirm *divine nature* of a *mere name* without *divine essence*? And what is a *Deity* without *divine essence*? Can Christ be properly "the *Divirr*," while there is nothing of *divine essence* in him? But if the *divine essence* of the Son was united to *human nature*, and the Father was not equally united, the Father and the Son must be perfectly *distinct essences* or beings.

The doctrine of *three distinct persons* in one God, has been

supported with a particular design to maintain the *absolute equality* of the Son with the Father. But, although it places the Father and the Son on the ground of absolute equality, it is, in my view, infinitely *degrading* to both. It has often been objected to this doctrine that it implies *three distinct Gods*.—And much of the language which its advocates use, naturally leads to that conclusion. But to set that conclusion aside, they affirm that the *three persons* are but *one Being*. But if they can fairly avoid that conclusion, there is another which is unavoidable, viz. that the *three distinct persons* are but *three distinct parts of the Supreme Being*. It is manifest that neither of the persons, as such, can be regarded as a *proper intelligent Being*, for the three are no more than *one intelligent Being*. But while we regard the Father and the Son as only *distinct parts of the same Being*, in what a *diminutioe* light do they both appear, compared with the representations given by Christ. The Father he regarded as the *Supreme Being*, the *only living and true God*: and he represented himself as the “*only begotten Son*” of the “*only true God*.” But the trinitarian theory sinks the *Father* from his proper dignity as the *Supreme Being*, to, at most, *one third* of that *Being*. And Jesus Christ is sunk from his proper dignity as the *only begotten Son* of the *only true God* to *one third* of the *Supreme Being*: And both the *Father* and the *Son* are at most but *two thirds* of *one God*.

Having been on similar ground myself, it is easy for me to believe that many who now attempt to support such doctrines, do it with a view to the honor of Christ. And so far as this is true, it is believed that they will receive his approbation. All this may be granted; and still it may be true that the sentiments are not only incorrect, but inconsistent with his true dignity, and degrading to his character. It may, also, be true, that there has been, and still is, an inexcusable *neglect* and *unwillingness* in respect to a thorough examination of the subject; and a criminal indulgence of a censorious spirit towards all who feel bound to think for themselves, and by thinking depart from the popular mystery.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONTROVERSY

BETWEEN DR. PRIESTLEY AND DR. HORSLEY, THE MONTHLY
REVIEWER, AND OTHERS.

Continued from volume i. page 277.

HAVING, in the last number of the Repository, stated that part of the controversy relating to the accounts which we have of the faith of the Nazarenes and Ebionites, and to the direct historical evidence in proof of the unitarianism of the ancient Jewish church; we now come to another branch of the controversy. It relates to an argument of Dr. Priestley, which is as follows. The Jews in the time of Christ expected a man only as their Messiah. As a man therefore Christ must at first have been regarded by his apostles and disciples. If therefore he were God, or the maker of the universe under God, and it be supposed that this was afterwards known to them, we should be able to fix some period, or periods, when this communication was made, and to trace some effects and consequences from the disclosure of a fact so wonderful. We are able to do neither. But further, if the apostles had ever preached to the Jews, jealous as that nation was of maintaining the divine unity, any doctrine, which might be so easily understood as an infringement of it, it would have excited violent enmity against them among the unbelieving part of that nation, and many questions and controversies among those who believed. But we find no traces of any such effects in the writings of the New Testament. These difficulties, according to Dr. Priestley, were felt by the Christian Fathers. They agreed, that the Jews in the time of our Saviour were unitarians in the strictest sense; and they affirm that through fear of giving them offence, and through fear of leading the gentiles into polytheism, the doctrine of Christ's being God was divulged slowly, and with great caution, and not openly taught till the publication of St. John's gospel, after the death of most of the apostles. But this hypothesis could have been forced upon the fathers only from the necessity of giving some solution of the difficulties before stated; and of offering something to ac-

count for a fact, which they who lived near the times could not deny, the prevalence of unitarianism in the early ages of the church.

The first part of this argument is very forcibly stated in the fifth of Dr. Priestley's First Letters to Dr. Horsley.

"I cannot," says he, "dismiss this subject of the strong prejudices of the Jews in general in favor of their Messiah being merely a man (thus explicitly acknowledged by Athanasius, Chrysostom, and others, who say, that *on this account* the apostles did not preach the doctrine of the divinity of Christ at first, but only after the people were satisfied with his Messiahship) without requesting your opinion with respect to the time when this great secret, of Christ not being merely a man, but the eternal God himself, or the maker of heaven and earth under God, was communicated, first to the apostles themselves, and then by them to the body of Christians.

" You cannot say that John the Baptist preached any such doctrine; and when the apostles at first attached themselves to Jesus, it is evident they only considered him as being such a Messiah as the rest of the Jews expected, viz. a man, and a king. When Nathaniel was introduced to him it was evidently in that light, John i. 45, *Philip findeth Nathaniel, and saith unto him, We have found him of whom Moses, in the law and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph.* He had then, we may suppose, no knowledge even of the miraculous conception.

" Now as you say, that ' Christ was so much more than man, that his being found in fashion as a man was really the most extraordinary part of his history and character;*' and at first the apostles, you must allow, were wholly ignorant of this; there must have been a *time*, within the compass of the evangelical history, when this most extraordinary part of his character was communicated to them. Now what period in the gospel history can you pitch upon, in which you can suppose that this great discovery was made to them? What traces do you find of it?

" That Jesus was even the *Messiah* was divulged with the

* Charge 1, § 9.

greatest caution, both to the apostles, and to the body of the Jews. For a long time our Lord said nothing explicit on this subject, but left his disciples, as well as the Jews at large, to judge of him from what they saw. In this manner only he replied to the messengers that John the Baptist sent to him.

" If the High-priest expressed his horror, by rending his cloaths, on Jesus avowing himself to be the Messiah, what would he have done if he had heard, or suspected, that he had made any higher pretensions? And if he had made them, they must have transpired. When the people in general saw his miraculous works, they only wondered that God should have given so much power to a man, Matt. ix. 8. *When the multitude saw it, they marvelled, and glorified God, who had given such power unto men;* and yet this was on the occasion of his pronouncing the cure of a paralytic person, by saying, *Thy sins be forgiven thee,* which the Pharisees thought to be a blasphemous presumption.

" At the time that Herod heard of him, it was conjectured by some that he was Elias, by others that he was a prophet, and by some that he was John, risen from the dead; but none of them imagined that he was either the most high God himself, or the maker of the world under God. It was not so much as supposed by any person that Jesus performed his mighty works by any power of *his own*; so far were they from suspecting that he was the God who had spoken to them by Moses, as you now suppose him to have been.

" If he was known to be a God at all before his death, it could only have been revealed to his disciples, perhaps the apostles, or only his chief confidants among them, Peter, James, and John, suppose on the mount of transfiguration, though nothing is said concerning it in the history of that transaction. Certainly what they saw in the garden of Gethsemane could not have led them to suspect any such thing. But if it had ever been known to Peter, can we suppose he could have denied him as he did? Besides, as our Lord told them there were many things which he could not inform them of before his death, and that they should know afterwards; this was a

thing so very wonderful and unsuspected, that if any articles of information were kept from them at that time, this must certainly have been one.

" If you suppose that Thomas was acquainted with this most extraordinary part of his master's character, which led him to cry, *My Lord and my God*, when he was convinced of his resurrection, as he was not one of the *three*, who had been entrusted with any secrets, it must have been known to all the twelve, and to Judas Iscariot among the rest. And suppose him to have known, and to have believed that Jesus was his God and maker, was it possible for him, or for any man, to have formed a deliberate purpose to betray him (Peter, you may say, was taken by surprise, and was in personal danger) or if he had only heard of the pretension, and had not believed it, would he not have made some advantages of that imposition, and have made the discovery of this, as well as of every thing else that he knew to his prejudice?

" If you suppose that the divinity of Christ was unknown to the apostles till the day of Pentecost; besides losing the benefit of several of your arguments for this great doctrine, which you now carefully collect from the four evangelists, we have no account of any such discovery having been made at that time, or at any subsequent one. And of other articles of illumination, of much less consequence than this, we have distinct information, and also of the manner in which they impressed them. This is particularly the case with respect to the extension of the blessings of the gospel to uncircumcised Gentiles. But what was this article, to the knowledge of their master being the most high God?

" If the doctrine of the divinity of Christ had been actually preached by the apostles, and the Jewish converts in general had adopted it, it could not but have been well known to the unbelieving Jews; and would they, who were at that time, and have been ever since, so exceedingly zealous with respect to the doctrine of the divine unity, not have taken the alarm, and have urged this objection to Christianity, as teaching the belief of more Gods than one in the apostolic age; and

yet no trace of any thing of this nature can be perceived in the whole history of the book of Acts, or any where else in the New Testament. As soon as ever the Jews had any pretence for it, we find them sufficiently quick and vehement in urging this their great objection to Christianity. To answer the charge of holding *two*, or *three Gods*, is a very considerable article in the writings of several of the ancient Christian fathers. Why then do we find nothing of this kind in the age of the apostles? The only answer is, that then there was no occasion for it, the doctrine of the divinity of Christ not having then been started.*

" Consider, Sir, the charge that was advanced against Peter and John at the first promulgation of the gospel. You will find it amounts to nothing but their being disturbers of the people, by preaching in the name of Jesus. What was the accusation against Stephen (Acts vi. 18.) but his *speaking blasphemous things against the temple and the law?* Accompany the apostle Paul in all his travels, and attend to his discourses with the Jews in their synagogues, and their perpetual and inveterate persecution of him, you will find no trace of their so much as suspecting that he preached a *new divinity*, as the godhead of Christ must have appeared, and always has appeared to them.

" In the year 58, Paul tells the elders of the church of Ephesus (Acts xx. 27.) that *he had not failed to declare unto them the whole counsel of God.* We may be confident, therefore, that, if he had any such doctrine to divulge, he must have taught it in the three years that he spent in that city from 54 to 57; and as the unbelieving Jews were well apprized of all his motions, having laid wait for him on this very journey to Jerusalem, they must have been informed of his

* " Athanasius strongly expresses this objection, as made by both Jews and Gentiles, to the incarnation of the son of God, though as a thing that was glorified in by Christians. 'The Jews,' says he, 'reproach us for it, the Gentiles laugh at it; but we adore it.' Ηι Ιουδαιοι μια διαβαλλουσιν, Ελληνοι δε χλευαζουσιν, πρωτος δε προσκυνουσιν. De Incarnatione Verbi, Opera, vol. i. p. 53."

having taught this doctrine, and would certainly have carried the news of it to Jerusalem, where many of them attended, as well as he, at the ensuing feast of Pentecost. But if we attend Paul thither, where we have a very particular account of all the proceedings against him, for the space of two years, we shall find no trace of any thing of the kind. All their complaints against him fell far short of this.

" What was the occasion of the first clamour against him? Was it not, (Acts xxi. 28.) that *he taught all men every wheres against the people, and against the law, and against the temple;* and that *he had brought Greeks into it?* Is it not plain that they had no more serious charge against him? Read his speech to the people, his defence before Felix, and again before Agrippa; you will find no trace of his having taught any doctrine so offensive to the Jews as that of the divinity of Christ must have been. Considering the known prejudices, and the inveteracy of the Jews, no reasonable man need desire any clearer proof than this, that neither Paul, nor any of the apostles, had ever taught the doctrine of the divinity of Christ at that time; and this was so near the time of the wars of the Jews, and the dispersion of that people, that there was no opportunity of preaching it with effect afterwards.

" Consider also the conduct of the *Jewish Christians*, who had strong prejudices against Paul, as we find in this part of his history; and according to the testimony of all historians, they retained those prejudices as long as they had any name, and after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was not long after the close of the history of the Acts, no trace can be found of their believing any such doctrine as the divinity of Christ. Now, though their enmity to Paul continued, and they never considered his writings as canonical scripture, yet to the very last, their objections to him amounted to nothing more than his being no friend to the law of Moses.

* * * . * * *

" These considerations (and much more might be added to enforce them) certainly affect the credibility of Christ having any nature superior to that of man; and when they are

sufficiently attended to (as I suspect they never have been) must shake the Arian hypothesis; but they must be particularly embarrassing to those who, like you, maintain the perfect equality of the Son to the Father.

" Considerations of this kind, if they occur to him, no person, who thinks at all, can absolutely neglect, so as to satisfy himself with having no hypothesis on the subject. You certainly find the apostles, as well as the rest of the Jews, without any knowledge of the divinity of Christ, with whom they lived and conversed as a man; and if they ever became acquainted with it, there must have been a time when it was either discovered by them, or made known to them; and the effects of the acquisition, or the communication of extraordinary knowledge, are in general proportionally conspicuous."

Such is the reasoning of Dr. Priestley. To an argument so novel, stated with so much clearness, and urged with so much force, the reader will feel more than common curiosity to know what was the reply of Dr. Horsley. It begins in the following manner.*

" In your fifth letter," says Dr. Horsley, " you call upon me to assign the particular time, when the knowledge of our Lord's divinity, which, in the persuasion that the apostles were taxed by the fathers with a reserve upon the subject, you are pleased to call 'the great secret, of Christ being not a mere man, but the eternal God;' you call upon me to assign the time, when this great secret 'was communicated first to the apostles, and then by them to the body of Christians.' You 'request my opinion' upon this question with a certain air of triumph, which seems to imply, that, in your apprehension, I must be much at a loss to frame an opinion upon it, which may be consistent with my creed. But the truth is, that you are yourself the person most concerned to find the solution. Or to express myself more accurately, the question splits into two, of which the one concerns not me, and the other concerns not either of us.

* Letters to Dr. Priestley, Let. 12.

“ 2. When was the doctrine of our Lord’s divinity first published in the church by the apostles?

“ 3. When was the knowledge of the thing first conveyed to the minds of the apostles themselves?

“ 4. These, Sir, are two distinct questions. Of the first, it is your concern, not mine, to seek the solution. For since I have clearly traced the belief of Christ’s proper deity up to the apostolic age; unless you can assign the particular epocha of the publication, I have a right to conclude, that it was a part of the very earliest doctrine. Nay, if you should even be able to assign some later time of its commencement, yet since that time must fall within the compass of the apostolic age, to which you are limited by virtue of my proof from the epistle of St. Barnabas, a question might indeed arise, which might be of difficult resolution; why was this doctrine, for a certain time, kept back? But this difficulty would not shake the credit of the doctrine.”

The apostles having been always inspired, a doctrine at any time taught by them would be entitled to implicit credit. “ You will therefore,” continues Dr. Horsley, “ choose your own epocha for the discovery of ‘the great secret.’ Place it where it may best please you in the apostolic age; I will hold no argument with you upon the subject. In my own congregations I shall think it my duty to bear my witness, that from the very beginning of the gospel the thing had been no secret.”

To this purpose, he says, he shall remind his hearers of St. Peter’s language in his first public sermon; where he says of our Lord Jesus, that “ it was not possible, that he should be holden by death.” “ The expressions,” says Dr. Horsley, “ clearly imply a physical impossibility.” “ I shall maintain,” he adds, that in the same discourse “ the three persons are distinctly mentioned in a manner which implies the divinity of each, ‘ Jesus—being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost.’ The Father, he contends, in this passage is not thus distinguished from his creatures. “ From them he were more significantly distinguished by the name of God. Not gener-

ally therefore from his creatures, but particularly from the two other persons mentioned in the same period, Jesus and the Holy Ghost. And since this is his distinction, that he is the Father of that son, from whom together with himself the Holy Ghost proceeds; it follows, that the interval between him and them, is no more than relation may create; that the whole difference lies in personal distinctions, not in essential qualities. Thus," says Dr. Horsley, "I will ever reason, Sir, for the edification of my own flock, but with little hope of your conviction from St. Peter's first sermon.

"I shall always insist, Sir," he continues, "that the blessed Stephen died a martyr to the DEITY of Christ. The accusation against him, you say, was 'his speaking blasphemous things against the temple and the law.' You have forgotten to add the charge of blasphemy 'against Moses and against God.'" "What was there," he asks, "in the doctrine of the apostles, which could be interpreted as blasphemy against God, except it was this, that they ascribed divinity to one who had suffered publicly as a malefactor." Dr. Horsley proceeds to maintain that the circumstances of Stephen's death and his concluding prayer gave proof of the divinity of Christ.

Another instance Dr. Horsley affirms of the early preaching of Christ's divinity "is the story of St. Paul's conversion; in which, as it is twice related by himself, Jesus is deified in the highest terms." He considers the appearance to St. Paul as "the full effulgence of the Shechinah," and that "Jesus speaks and is spoken to as the divinity inhabiting that glorious light."

These instances he thinks will fully bear him out in the assertion, that our Lord's divinity was preached from the beginning, till Dr. Priestley can fix the first discovery to some later period.

The second question—"when was the knowledge of our Lord's divinity first imparted to the apostles?"—Dr. Horsley thinks wholly insignificant and uninteresting to all parties; because whenever communicated it is equally to be received as an

article of faith. He thinks however that so far as the apostles at any time believed "in Jesus as the Messiah, in the same degree they understood and acknowledged his divinity." The proof of this from the scriptures he observes consists in too many particulars to be fully produced. "I shall mention," he says, "two." Of these one is Nathaniel's first profession, "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, Thou art the king of Israel," which Dr. Horsley says, was drawn from him by some things in our Lord's discourse which he seems to have interpreted as indications of omnipotence. The other is Peter's consternation at the miraculous draught of fishes. This, he observes, "was evidently of the same sort, of which we read in the worthies of earlier ages upon any extraordinary appearance of the light of the Shechinah; which was founded on a notion, that a sinful mortal might not see *God and live*. These," he continues, "and many other passages of the Evangelical History discover that our Lord's associates, although it was not till after his ascension that the Holy Ghost led them into all truth, had an early apprehension of something more than human in his character."

He continues, "But Judas Iscariot, you think, 'could not possibly have formed a deliberate purpose of betraying our Lord,' had the belief of his divinity been general among the apostles before his crucifixion. Or had any such pretension been set up, which had not gained belief, Judas would have taken advantage of the imposition, and would have made a discovery of it to the prejudice of our Lord. It should seem, Sir, that you think your own cause almost desperate, if you would desire that Judas Iscariot should be admitted as an evidence for you, or as an advocate. But what if your cause should turn out to be, what Judas Iscariot himself would scruple to undertake?" Dr. Horsley thinks it probable, that it was "rather his meaning to cheat the chief priests of their money, than actually to sell his Master's life;" and that when he bargained to lead the band to the place of his retirement he thought he might safely trust to his Master's power to repel any attack on his person. "This," he adds, "is very consistent with a belief of our Lord's divinity."

Dr. Priestley, in the conclusion of his letter from which I have quoted, had said:—"Had there been any pretence for imagining that the Jews in our Saviour's time had any knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinity, and that they expected the second person in it, in the character of their Messiah, the question I propose to you would have been needless." "Then, Sir," says Dr. Horsley in reply, "the question which you propose to me, is needless. The Jews in Christ's days had notions of a trinity in the divine nature. They expected the second person, whom they called the Logos, to come as the Messiah. For the proof of these assertions I refer you to the work of the learned Dr. Peter Allix, entitled the '*Judgment of the ancient Jewish church against the Unitarians.*' A work which it is to be hoped, Sir, you will carefully look through, before you send abroad your intended view of the doctrine of the first ages concerning Christ."*

If these last assertions of Dr. Horsley could be maintained, they would indeed be a sufficient answer to most of the difficulties urged by Dr. Priestley. But through the greater part of Dr. Horsley's reply these difficulties are not answered, but evaded. Dr. Horsley has argued as if his opponent had proposed to him the naked questions;—when was Christ's divinity made known to the apostles? and, when was it preached to the Jews? But what Dr. Priestley required of him, was to fix some time for the disclosure and preaching of this doc-

* Dr. Horsley, in addition to what I have adduced from him, mentions an unitarian writer, who according to him entertained an opposite opinion to Dr. Priestley respecting the faith of the Jews in the time of Christ. He wrote in defence of a former unitarian work, called the *Naked Gospel*, of which his own book was entitled an *Historical Vindication*. The writer, according to Dr. Horsley, was supposed to be Le Clerc. "He it is," says Dr. Horsley, "who says in his preface, that the Platonic enthusiasm crept first into the Jewish, afterwards into the Christian church. Then he tells his readers how the Jews picked up their Platonism. Of which, he says, the principal doctrines were two: the one, that of the pre-existence of souls; the other that of the divine trinity. These, he says, were the opinions of the Jews in the days of our Saviour and his apostles." I have not been able to find either of the works above referred to.

trine, against which the objections already stated, or others equally strong, would not apply. The business of Dr. Horsey therefore was to obviate these objections, either generally, or with regard to some particular time; and this he has not attempted. He has resorted to his proof from the Epistle of Barnabas (the value of which has been before examined) and he has endeavoured to produce some other proofs from the scriptures to shew, that the doctrine of our Lord's divinity was preached in the apostolic age, and was early believed by the apostles; but this is an entirely distinct thing from obviating the difficulties which may be urged against these suppositions. If the evidence be sufficiently strong, we must consider them as established. But for any thing which Dr. Horsley has effected, we must in that case receive them embarrassed with all the difficulties urged by his opponent. Whether it can be proved from early Christian writers, that the doctrine of Christ's being God was taught in the apostolic age; or whether this doctrine is to be found in his own preaching, or in the preaching or writings of his apostles, are questions very different from that now before us. Dr. Horsley might have produced all the arguments which he believed were to be drawn from the New Testament in support of this doctrine, with as much propriety as those which he has in fact brought forward. The present question is, how the supposition that this doctrine was at any time taught to the apostles, or preached by them, can be reconciled with facts recorded in the New Testament; and how in consistency with this supposition we are to account for the absence of those effects, which we should suppose that the communication and the preaching of so wonderful a doctrine would have produced.

Still however the difficulties urged by Dr. Priestley are in a great degree obviated, if Dr. Horsley's assertions concerning the faith of Jews, as before mentioned, can be maintained. For the support of these assertions he refers to a work of Allix, of which he has given the title. But I believe that Allix, whatever he may attempt to maintain, will be found to have conceded every thing necessary to the argu-

ments of Dr. Priestley. After endeavouring to prove that the doctrines of the trinity, and of the divinity of the Messiah, may be inferred from the apocryphal books, from the writings of Philo, from the Chaldee paraphrases, and from the works of that sect of the Jewish doctors who are called the Cabalists, he comes to his twenty fifth chapter, which begins in the following manner: "An objection," he says, "may be very naturally made by a judicious reader, concerning what I said of the testimonies of the Jews before Christ, about the distinction of Divine Persons, and the divinity of the *Ayes*. On the one side, may he say, you own that the Jews after Christ have opposed the doctrine of the Trinity, as being contrary to the unity of God; there are plain proofs of it, even in the second century. And it is certain that Trypho did not believe that the Messiah was to be any other than a mere man, and so did the Jews believe, as it is witnessed by Orig. lib. 2. contr. Cels. pag. 79. And on the other side you affirm that the Jews in the old times before Christ taught a doctrine much like that of the Trinity; and that all their ancient authors affirmed that the Messiah was to have the *Ayes* dwelling in him."

"In answer to this difficulty, I cannot say that the Jews have altered their opinion upon this subject, since the beginning of Christianity; for to this day their cabalistical doctors, whom they respect as great divines, do profess the same which Philo and the Chaldee paraphrasts did. I cannot say neither that they are divided into two sects, the one of which follows these notions, the other opposes them: for though the cabalists are fewer in number than those who stick to the letter of the law, and study only to understand the ceremonies of it, to which they add the traditions contained in the Misna, and the Genuarra, yet it is certain that there is no great controversy between them about those doctrines which I have mentioned."

"I answer therefore, first by owning that whatever notions the old Jews had of these matters, they were neither so clear or distinct but that they were mixt with divers errors, of which there are many instances both in Philo and the Targums."

His second answer is "that all learned Jews who sincerely

turn Christians, do it by reflecting upon those old Jewish principles, which they originally find in the Old Testament, and afterwards to be agreeable with the principles of Christianity."

He gives five other answers. They are merely accounts of the enmity of the Jews to Christ and to Christianity, and of course I suppose it is to be inferred, to the divinity of Christ, and to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. After these comes the following paragraph, whose conclusion contains a concession sufficiently important, as it relates to the matter in controversy between Dr. Priestley and Dr. Horsley.

"Besides, the Jews themselves confess that in their dispersion they have lost the knowledge of many of the mysteries of their religion. One cannot think how it could be otherwise, if one considers, 1. The long time they have been dispersed, which confounds the most distinct, and darkens the clearest matters. 2. Their extreme misery in so long a captivity, which subjected them to so many different nations, and many of them such as had a particular hatred both of their nation and religion. 3. But chiefly if one considers that those mysteries were communicated only to a few learned men, and kept from the knowledge of the common people; as Maimonides does acknowledge, and proves by many reflections worth considering, in *More Veroch.* p. 1. ch. 71."

The same notion which is contained in the conclusion of this paragraph, that some mysterious triple division of the divine nature was a doctrine of the learned, but concealed from the common people lest they should fall into polytheism, is likewise advanced by Allix, p. 149.

But the reasonings of Dr. Priestley, which we are now considering, have respect to the disciples of our Saviour, who were not among the learned, and to the great body of the common people in the Jewish nation. Allowing them to have been ignorant of the doctrine of the Trinity, and to have had no expectation of more than a man as their Messiah, all the difficulties which he has urged respecting the communication and the preaching of these doctrines remain in full force, whatever mysteries may be supposed to have been concealed among the

more learned of the Jews. It was not the business of Allix to answer the arguments which Dr. Priestley has brought into view. This however is expressly undertaken by Jamieson, and the subject of the faith of the Jews fills more than an hundred pages of his first volume. But Jamieson's concessions are similar to those of Allix.

"Whatever ideas," he says, "the more learned Jews had with respect to the deity of the Messiah, they seem to have concealed them from the common people. They took away the key of knowledge, Luke xi. 52. It was natural for them to do so, as a temporal salvation engrossed all their hopes and desires. For the proclamation of a divine Messiah must have given a fatal blow to their own authority; as they were in general such carnal men, and so unlike those who were prepared to welcome a spiritual Deliverer." vol. i. pp. 93, 94.

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"The doctrine of the divinity of the Messiah seems to have been nearly lost among the vulgar. Of this the gospel-history affords various evidences. Even Joseph and Mary appear to have little acquaintance with it." p. 94.

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"But can," he asks, "the darkness, which in that age involved the minds of the generality of the nation, with regard to the deity of the Messiah, be a sufficient argument against this doctrine? Indeed it has been strenuously asserted, that it was totally unknown to them. This, however, cannot be believed by an impartial inquirer." pp. 95, 96.

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"Even the disciples," he adds, "were greatly under the influence of this spiritual stupor. Till the moment of our Lord's ascension, their minds were still warped with the idea of a temporal salvation."* p. 96.

Jamieson merely follows Allix in attempting to prove that the doctrines of a Trinity, and of God's being about to come as their Messiah, are to be found in the writings of the more learned among the Jews. Whether even this is probably the truth

* Vindication B. i. c. 7.

may be judged in some degree from the remarks of Allix, after having, as he thinks, proved that the traces of the doctrine of the Trinity are to be found in these writings. Having stated this conclusion and enlarged upon it, he says with regard to what he considers himself to have proved:—"All this is still the more remarkable, 1. Because the common Jews have well nigh quite lost the notion of the Messias being God; and they generally expect no more than a mere common man for their redeemer.

"2. Because the main body of the Jews are such zealous asserters of the unity of God, that they repeat every day the words of Deut. vi. 4.—*The Lord our God is One Lord.* It is a practice, which though now they have turned against the Christians, yet doubtless was taken up first in opposition to the Gentiles, whose polytheism was renounced in this short confession of the Jewish faith. And hence it is that they do so much celebrate R. Akiba's faith, who died in torments, with the last syllables of the word *echad* in his mouth, which signifies the unity of God.

"3. Because the Jews at the same time dispute against the Christians' doctrine of the Trinity; as doth R. Saadia for instance, in his book entitled *Sepher Emunah*, chap. 2.

"4. Because from the beginning of Christianity some Rabbins have applied themselves to find out other senses of those passages which the Christians urge against them. This we see in *Gem. of Sambat*. chap. 4. sect. 2."*

The reader will perhaps think this still the more remarkable when he finds, that these Jewish disputants against the trinity are some of them the very Cabalists in whose writings, according to Allix, the doctrine is to be found. "Almost all those," says Allix, "who dispute against the Christians on this head, contradict themselves in their writings that are not polemical, but are drawn up in cool blood, out of the heat of dispute."† After this I do not know but it may be thought, that there is as much truth as humor in Dr. Priestley's con-

* Allix, pp. 171, 177. † Allix p. 179.

parison of these trinitarian Jews to Malere's *Médecin malgré lui*.*

Dr. Horsey has likewise appealed to Allix for proof, that the Jews expected the second person of the trinity, whom they called the Logos, to come as their Messiah. In his sixteenth chapter, Allix undertakes to prove three propositions, the first of which is, "that in several places of the ancient Jewish authors, the *Memra* or the *Aoye*, is put for the Messiah. And so that it is certain that St. John has followed the language of the Jews before Jesus Christ, in taking the *Aoye* for a divine person, that in the fulness of time, as it was foretold by the Prophets, did assume our flesh, Joh. i. 14." With regard to this proposition, he says—"I must put my reader in mind, that it should not be a just subject of admiration, if we could not prove such a thing by many of the Jewish books. It is clear that when the Jewish authors did consider the *Aoye*, they considered him as the true Lord of heaven and earth, and chiefly of their own nation. Whereas the Messiah is often represented to the Prophets as one that should appear in a very mean condition; and whatsoever glory is attributed to him in other places of the ancient Revelation, which brought them to believe till the last times that the *Shakimah* was to be in him; there were some characters which could hardly be applied to him as being personally the Word himself. Such are his sufferings described, Psal. xxii. and Isa. liii. Such is his riding upon an Ass, and coming to Jerusalem, which they refer constantly to the Messiah, as you may see in their ceremonial book of *Aggadah of Pesach*.

"But although we should suppose that the places we are going to cite cannot expressly convince the reader of this truth: yet we might establish it by necessary consequences from them."

After having produced and compared together a number of passages for this purpose, he says—"But I foresee these consequences will not seem strong enough to a Socinian. Let us therefore produce out of Philo and the Targums, some

* See Dr. Priestley's Letters to the Dean of Canterbury, Let. 2.

places where the notions of the *Ayyos*, and the *Messias*, do appear positively the same.

"For Philo, i. He declares that the *Ayyos* is the first begotten of God, in Euseb. *Prep.* vii. 13. p. 323. which he had from Prov. viii 25. Psal. ii. 7. But this proves unanswerably that in the judgment of the old Jews, the *Messias* should be the same person with the *Ayyos*, seeing the *Messias* is called the first-born, Psal. lxxxix. 28."

What Allix thought unanswerable may certainly be considered, as in fact it is, a pretty fair specimen of his arguments.

But on this subject of the faith of the learned among the Jews, there is no authority higher than that of Basnage.

"Basnage," says Dr. Priestley in reply to Dr. Horsley's appeal to Allix, "I suppose you will allow, had sufficiently studied the history and opinions of the Jews. He has written largely on the subject; and yet, though a trinitarian himself, he has exploded all the pretences of Cudworth and others to find the doctrine of the trinity either among the ancient or the modern Jews.

"The Christians, and the Jews," he says, "separate at the second step in religion. For after having adored together one God, absolutely perfect, they find the moment after the abyss of the *trinity*, which intirely separates them. The Jew considers three persons as three Gods, and this *tritheism* shocks him. The Christian, who believes the unity of one God, thinks that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, should all be called God, and have the same worship. It is impossible to reconcile opinions so contrary. There are, however, divines bold enough to attempt it." **

With regard particularly to the Jews' expecting God as their *Messiah*, Basnage says, as translated by Taylor—"And indeed had the Divinity of the *Messiah* been known in the Jewish church, and clearly taught in the Chaldee paraphrases, which were read every Saturday in the temple and synagogues, and every day in private houses; Jesus Christ would have drawn some considerable advantages from that disposition to believe

* Second Letters to Dr. Horsley, Let. 11; also Hist. Ear. Opp. B. iii. c. i. s. 3.

the most incredible of the gospel mysteries. However, if you will read the gospel, you will easily observe that our Lord Jesus Christ is very circumspect about his Divinity. Let us also confess the fact, that all this circumspection of the Son of God had been ill managed, if the people had been prepared by their masters, and their own private reading, to receive the Messiah as God. His circumspection was so great, that the heretics said that he spoke but seldom of his Divinity for fear lest it should be denied that he was a man. But St. Chrysostom hath hit it better, in saying that Jesus Christ designed ingeniously to accustom mankind to a mystery exalted far beyond the reach of their reason. This supposes that he found the church ignorant of it, and foresaw that she would rise up against this mystery.”*

Dr. Priestley in his remarks on Mr. Howes, (one of his opponents formerly mentioned), annexed to his Third Letters to Dr. Hersley, observes—

“ I am indeed astonished that neither Dr. Horsley nor Mr. Howes should so much as mention the name of Basnage in treating of this subject, which he has so learnedly and so ably discussed, and who has so particularly considered what Cudworth, Allix, and Bull had advanced upon it. The character of Mr. Basnage, in Moreri’s Dictionary, by Le Clerc, is as follows: ‘ Monsieur Basnage étoit vrai jusques dans les plus petites choses. Sa candeur, sa franchise, sa bonne foi, ne paraissent pas moins dans ses ouvrages, que la profondeur de son erudition.’ What will foreigners say of Englishmen still retailing the stale arguments of the three writers above mentioned, without any notice of what has been replied to them by such a man as this?”

* Not having the original at hand, I have quoted the above from the barbarous translation of Thomas Taylor, which is in some places (though not in the passage above quoted) unintelligible to one not acquainted with the French idioms. The above passage is partly quoted by Dr. Priestley in the sixth of his Third Letters to Dr. Horsley. It is quoted by him as from Hist. des Juifs. L. v. cap. ix. s. 3. But according to the translation of Taylor it is to be found B. iv. c. 24, s. 21.

On this question of the faith of the Jews, I will give one more extract. In the eleventh of his Second Letters to Dr. Horsley, Dr. Priestley thus addresses him:

—“ without entering into a large discussion on the subject, I shall only ask you a question or two relating to it, and you may answer me out of Dr. Allix if you please. Inform me then, if you can, how our Saviour could possibly, on your idea, have puzzled the Jewish doctors, as he did, reducing them to absolute silence, by asking them how David could call the Messiah his Lord, when he was his son, or descendant. For if they had themselves been fully persuaded, as you suppose, that the Messiah, though carnally descended from David, was in fact the maker and the God of David, and of them all, a very satisfactory answer was pretty obvious. Or without asking any other question of my own, what say you to Facundus, quoted above, who says that ‘Martha and Mary would never have said to Christ, if thou hadst been here; had they thought him to be God omnipresent.’ He adds, ‘neither would Philip have said to him, *Show us the Father;* if he had entertained any such idea of him.’ ”

In the same letter, and in his History of Early Opinions B. iii. c. 1. s. 3. Dr. Priestley produces further proofs of the strong attachment of the Jews since the time of Christ to the doctrine of the unity of God in opposition to a plurality of persons.*

* The arguments in proof, that the ancient Jews were trinitarians, (beside the one, that the doctrine of the trinity is revealed in their scriptures) are drawn, as I have before mentioned, from the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, from the Chaldee Paraphrases, from the writings of Philo, and from those of the Cabalists. As to the apocryphal books, I suppose that those who do not perceive the doctrine in the scriptures of the Old Testament, will not discover it in these writings. The most striking passage adduced, is from the book of Wisdom, where the author in an address to God, speaking of the destruction of the first born of the Egyptians says, “Thine almighty word leapt down from heaven out of thy royal throne, as a fierce man of war into a land of destruction, and brought thine unfeigned commandment as a sharp sword, and standing up filled all things with death. And it touched the heaven, but stood

In the same letter Dr. Priestley likewise answers the arguments which Dr. Horsley had brought from scripture to upon the earth." xviii. 15, 16. This is brought in proof of the author's belief of the personality of the Logos, or Word. But it is consistent with the general style of the book to understand this passage as figurative and poetical; as a personification, and not as literal description. Indeed if we interpret literally and take the account of Moses, we must suppose that the immediate agent in this destruction was a malevolent being, who was restrained by God from doing the evil to the Israelites which he would otherwise have done. "The Lord," Moses says to the Israelites, "will pass over the door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come into your houses to smite you." See also Psalms, lxxxviii. 49.

The principal argument from the Chaldee paraphrases arises from the fact, that in most instances where in scripture we find the name of Jehovah, they put in its stead Memra, i. e. the Word, or Memra Jehovah, the word of Jehovah. Thus they appear to ascribe to the Word all the actions of a Supreme Deity. They seem therefore to have been acquainted with the second person of the trinity, the Word, the Christian Logos, and to have attributed to him the creation of the world, and almost all the events recorded in the Old Testament, which are there attributed to God, without attention to the distinction of persons. With regard to this argument, Prideaux, after observing that the Chaldee Memra has been thought to correspond with the Greek Logos of St. John's Gospel, and both exactly to denote the same thing, and that hence an argument has been drawn for the divinity of the Son, and after giving Father Simon's opinion, that we ought not to found any argument on this supposed correspondence, adds—"Others as well as Mons. Simon, being sensible that this phrase in the Chaldee is an idiom of that language, which may be otherwise explained, are against pressing any argument from it for this point, because it is capable of an answer to which we cannot well reply." [Prideaux's Connection P. ii. b. 8.] Prideaux refers to Lightfoot's Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon St. John's gospel. Lightfoot begins the last paragraph of his note on the first verse of this gospel in the following manner: (Instead of the original of the paraphrases, which he quotes, I give a translation.) "Though this," he says, "must be also confess, that the word Memra doth sometimes signify nothing else but I, Thou, He, and is frequently applied to men too. So Job vii. 8. Thine eyes are upon me. Targ. upon my word. Again Job xxvii. 3. My breath is in me. Targ. in my word. 2. Chron. xvi. 3. There is a league between me and thee. Targ. between thy word and my word. Chap. xxviii. 16. He made a covenant

prove, that the fact of Christ's being God was from the first preached to the Jews; and from the first believed by the apostles, in the same degree as they believed him to be the Christ. Where I have thought it of sufficient importance, I have given some of the answers in the margin below.*

between him, and between all the people, and between the king. Targ. between his word, and between all the people, and between the word of the king." Lightfoot then observes that the phrase of the Targums, "the Lord by his word," may be translated, *the Lord by himself*, or *the Lord himself*. The observations of Basnage on this subject may be found B. iv. c. 24. § 9. One of them is as follows: "By substituting the Memra, or Word, the Father disappears: he is so buried in the person and actions of his Son, that we have scarce any knowledge of him. And yet the Jews knew the Father better than the Son; and what proves too much, we say proves nothing."

With regard to Philo, it is agreed that the rudiments of the doctrine of the trinity are found in his writings; but it is maintained that nothing can be inferred from the sentiments of this disciple of Plato, and student of profane literature, concerning those of the great body of Jews; and it is likewise maintained that he had no notion of the identity of the Logos and of the Messiah.

Respecting the arguments from the Cabalists, the principal are answered by Basnage. It has been seen in the text that they are professed enemies of the doctrine, which it is still said they inconsistently support. Perhaps however the following account of them by Basnage is alone a sufficient answer to any pretence of discovering this mysterious doctrine in their writings. "I do not deny," says he, "that abundance of things may be seen in the Cabalists, which I have not seen, or have had no inclination to discover. There is commonly such an obscure profoundness in their writings as is impenetrable. Nothing that reason dictates, can be reconciled with the terms their books abound with. After a long and useless search a man is tired; he shuts the book; he returns to it an hour after, and thinks he perceives a little glimpse, but it vanishes immediately. Their principles at first seem to have some connexion, but the diversity of interpreters is so great, that one knows not where to fix. The terms employed are so foreign or remote from the object, that they cannot be brought together." B. iii. c. 14. s. 20.

* Dr. Priestley's answer respecting Nathaniel's calling Jesus the Son of God has already been given in the first volume of the Repository, pp. 250, 251. With respect to Dr. Horsley's argument from the baptism

We come now to the other branch of Dr. Priestley's argument, relating to the accounts given by the Fathers, of the opinions of the Jews respecting their Messiah, and of the man-

of Peter on the occasion of the miraculous draught of fishes, Dr. Priestley says—"As to the consternation of Peter, I should imagine that by the same mode of interpretation you might conclude that the widow of Zarephath took Elijah to be a God; for on the death of her son she said, (1 Kings xvii. 18.) *What have I to do with thee, O thou man of God, art thou come to me to call my sins to remembrance, and to slay my son?* Pray, Sir, why might not the exclamation of Peter be considered as being of the same nature with that of this woman?"

In regard to Stephen's being accused of blasphemy against God, Dr. Priestley says—"to a Jew, blasphemy against Moses, by whom God spake, would naturally be considered as blasphemy against the God by whom he spake; on the same principle as our Saviour says (Matt. x. 40.) *He that receiveth you receiveth me; and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.*

"Besides, we are expressly told what was the blasphemy with which Stephen was charged (Acts vi. 11,) viz. *Against Moses and against God, against this holy place and the law;* and this is fully explained as follows (v. 14.) *For we have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and change the customs which Moses delivered us.* This was the whole of the accusation, very clearly stated; and where do you find any thing said concerning the *deity of Christ.*"

In answer to Dr. Horsey's argument, that the words of St. Peter concerning our Saviour, 'that it was not possible, that he should be holden of death,' clearly imply a physical impossibility, Dr. Priestly observes—"it may be said, that as God had foretold the resurrection of Christ, it was impossible but that it must take place. As to a proper *natural impossibility*, the fact is clearly against you; for if it had been naturally impossible for him to be *holden of death*, it must certainly have been naturally impossible for him to have died at all; and if death could hold him three days, it might, for any thing which appears in nature, have held him forever, if the divine power, a power foreign to himself, had not interposed. Accordingly we read, not that he raised himself, but that *God raised him from the dead.* Use, no doubt, will reconcile the minds of men to strange conceptions of things, and strange language; or I should wonder that you should not be shocked at the idea of God's dying. For when you speak of the natural impossibility of Christ's being holden of death, you must certainly have an idea of something more than the death of his body."

ner, in which Christ's divinity was taught. The Fathers agree, according to Dr. Priestley, that the Jews had no expectation of a divine Messiah; that the doctrine of Christ's divinity was taught slowly and cautiously to the Jews, through fear of offending their zeal for the unity of God; and to the Gentiles from the danger of leading them into polytheism; and that this doctrine was not openly taught before the publication of St. John's gospel. In proof of the two first of these assertions, then made however in a somewhat different form, Dr. Priestley in his History of the Corruptions, P. i. s. 1. referred particularly to a single passage from Athanasius, and generally to the testimony of other fathers. His manner of understanding this passage was controverted by Dr. Horsley, and the dispute with regard to its meaning constitutes a very considerable, though a very unimportant part of the controversy between them.* In confirmation of his statements respecting the Fa-

* The passage from Athanasius, according to Dr. Priestley's translation, which is adopted by Jamieson, is as follows:—"Will they affirm," says he, "that the apostles held the doctrine of Arius, because they say that Christ was a man of Nazareth, and suffered on the cross? or because they used these words, were the apostles of opinion that Christ was *only* a man, and nothing else? By no means: this is not to be imagined. But this they did as wise master-builders, and stewards of the mysteries of God; and they had this *good reason* for it. For the Jews of that age, being deceived themselves, and having deceived the Gentiles, thought that Christ was a mere man, only that he came of the seed of David, resembling other descendants of David, and did not believe either that he was God, or that the word was made flesh. On this account the blessed apostles, with great prudence, in the first place, taught what related to the humanity of our Saviour to the Jews, that *having fully persuaded them*, from his miraculous works, that Christ was come, they might afterwards bring them to the belief of his divinity, shewing that his works were not those of a man, but of God. For example, Peter having said that Christ was a man who had suffered, immediately added, he is the prince of life. In the gospel he confesses, 'thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;' and in his epistle, he calls him the 'bishop of souls.'"
Op. i. 553-4.

What Dr. Priestley has translated above 'good reason,' [*aitia euλoσες*] he originally (in the fourth of his First Letters) rendered 'specious pre-

thers, Dr. Priestley in the fourth of his First, and in the tenth of his Second Letters, produced a variety of other passages

since.' This incorrect translation was strongly objected to by Dr. Horsley, and that which he gave in its stead Dr. Priestley has adopted. What he has rendered, 'having fully persuaded them,' [οἵσας πενθερτοὶ εὗρος] Dr. Horsley translates, 'having at any rate persuaded them.'

Dr. Priestley thinks the above passage proves that, in the idea of Athanasius, "the apostles thought it necessary to use great caution in divulging to the Jews so offensive a doctrine as that of the divinity of Christ; though, in consequence of their caution on this head, the Jewish Christians did in their age continue unitarians, believing Christ to be nothing more than a mere man, and also propagated the same doctrine among the Gentile converts."

Dr. Horsley maintains on the contrary that the Jews spoken of by Athanasius, were not believing, but unbelieving Jews. 'The Jews,' are mentioned twice, and at the second mention, spoken of (according to Dr. Horsley's translation) as persons who were *at any rate* to be persuaded that the Christ was come. Of course they were not believing Jews. The force of this argument depends upon the manner in which οἵσας is rendered, to which Dr. Horsley has given an unusual signification.

Dr. Priestley maintains that the Jews spoken of by Athanasius were the whole body of Jews in the apostolic age (*οἱ τότε Ιudei* being the expression in the original); but that believing Jews were principally referred to; because it is improbable that unbelieving Jews should have led unbelieving Gentiles into error respecting the metaphysical nature of the Jewish Messiah. He mentions that in thus understanding the passage he is supported by the Latin translator of Athanasius, and by Beausobre, neither of them unitarians, and therefore unexceptionable judges; the former renders *Xeisros* in this place by *Iesum*, which sufficiently shews his opinion; and the latter says expressly (*Histoire de Manichéisme*, vol. ii. p. 517.) "les Juifs ne sont pas les Juifs incredules, mais ceux qui faisoient profession du Christianisme." For this mode of understanding the passage he quotes likewise the authority of Dr. Lardner. (Second Letters to Dr. Horsley, Let. 10.) In the opinion of the Monthly Reviewer however this construction, supported by such authorities, and not contradicted, as far as appears, by any, could not have been given by Dr. Priestley but with the guilt of gross and wicked misrepresentation; and he begins his remarks concerning it with saying—"We come now to something *very serious* indeed!" After various observations he quotes the passage, which at the time of his writing had only been referred to, without having been produced by Dr. Priestley; and, as if there-

from Chrysostom. With regard to these likewise Dr. Horsley made some reply.* But in his History of Early Opinion,

could be no controversy on the subject after the passage had been seen, then says, "thus this 'primitive church,' these 'Jewish Christians,' these 'Jewish believers,' turn-out to be mere Jews!" He adds indeed in a note to a following paragraph, that "*Iudeus* always mean in Athanasius, as far as we have consulted him, *unbelieving Jews*." (Monthly Review, vol. lxix pp. 232, 234, 235.)

Dr. Horsley further maintains, that Athanasius does not speak of the apostles exercising any prudence or caution, in divulging the doctrine of Christ's divinity; but merely says, that they conducted with great wisdom (*πολλὴν τε καὶ σύνετον*) in teaching first what was plain and simple, and afterward proceeding to higher and mysterious doctrines. "The beginning," he says, "of every story must be first told. The easiest part of every science must be first taught. Of the great ability and judgment, with which the apostles conducted the first preaching of the gospel; of their happy art in the perspicuous arrangement of their lofty argument; with what readiness they led their catechumens on, from the simplest principles to the highest mysteries; of this consummate ability of the apostles in the capacity of teachers, Athanasius speaks with due commendation. Their caution he never mentions" He supposes likewise in another place that they communicated these higher doctrines to their catechumens without reserve. "In their first public sermons," he says, "addressed to the unbelieving multitude, they were content to maintain, that Jesus, whom the Jews had crucified, was risen from the dead; without touching his divinity otherwise than in remote allusions. But to suppose that they carried their converts no greater length, is to suppose that their private instruction was not more particular than their public." (Letters to Dr. Priestley, Let. 11.)

One however of Dr. Priestley's inferences from the passage, Dr. Horsley does not attempt to controvert; that in the opinion of Athanasius the Jews, in the time of our Saviour, expected only a man as their Messiah. To quote his own language, "Athanasius says indeed of the Jews of the apostolic age, that is, of the unbelieving Jews, that they had so little insight into the true meaning of the prophecies, as to look for nothing more than a man in the promised Messiah." (Charge I. § 9.)

* With regard to the passages of Chrysostom produced by Dr. Priestley, Dr. Horsley says that the Fathers were notoriously careless in their rhetorical assertions, and on this circumstance he should build his reply, if those passages appeared to him in the same light in which they

Dr. Priestley has produced a great number of passages from different fathers; which put his statements out of controversy.

appeared to his antagonist. But he afterwards adds:—"For St Chrysostom, I cannot find that he says any thing, but what I myself would say; " that the apostles taught first what was easiest to be learned, and went " on to higher points, as the minds of their catechumens became able to " bear them. If I could allow that he hath anywhere said, what Dr. Priestley thinks he finds in his expressions, that the apostles had been reserved " and concealed upon an article of faith; I should say, that it was a thought " that had hastily occurred to him, as a plausible solution of a difficulty, " which deserved, perhaps, no very diligent discussion in a popular as- " sembly; and that he had hastily let it escape him." Rem. P. ii. c. i. § 11.

As a specimen of the passages of Chrysostom, to which these remarks are to be applied, I give the following:—"As to the Jews," says Chrysostom, "who had daily heard, and been taught out of the law, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord, and besides him there is no other;* having seen him [Jesus] nailed to a cross, yea having killed and buried him themselves, and not having seen him risen again, if they had heard that this person was God, equal to the Father, would not they have rejected and spurned at it?" "I want words," says Dr. Priestley, "in English to express the force of the Greek, in this place. The Latin translator renders it, *nonne maxime omnes ab his verbis abhorruissent, ac recesserent, et oblatrassent.* 'On this account,' Chrysostom adds, 'they [the apostles] brought them forwards gently, and by slow degrees, and used great art in condescending to their weakness.'** Sec. Lett. to Dr. Horsley, Let. 10.

There is perhaps somewhat more force of language, but not more clearness of meaning, in this passage of Chrysostom than in others quoted from him.

Dr. Horsley has particularly remarked only on one passage of Chrysostom; and his remarks I notice, not from their having any important bearing on the controversy, but from their containing a personal charge against Dr. Priestley. "As the mention," he says, "of Dr. Priestley's

* Πάντες δέ αὐτοὶ Ἰουδαῖοι εἰ καθ' ἡμέτερην πράξιν μετεπεστάτεις ὅτο τε πρώτοι, Ακεῖς Ιορδαῖοι, χωρίς ὁ θεός οὐ χωρίς ἦται, καὶ τὰν αυτὴν ως εἶται ἄλλος, εἴτε ἔνδικος γάνης ἀδόκτος προσγελαμμένος αὐτοῖς, μηδὲλος δέ καὶ τιμωρούστες καὶ θνήσκατες, καὶ εἰδὲ μετεπειπτατες θνήσκατες, μηκοτερῆς ὁτις θεός εἶται αυτὸς ἡ θεός, καὶ τῷ πάτερι ισός, εἰς αὐτὸν μετεπειπτατες απειπεῖσθαι καὶ προφρεγγίσθαι. Διατί τέτοιο ηρμόνιον, καὶ κατὰ μηδενόν, αυτὸς προσβούσας γεγόνει, καὶ τολλεῖ μετεπειπτατες τῷ τε συγκαταβασίος εἰκόνημα. In Acta Hom. i. Opera vol. viii. p. 447.

Jawieson indeed follows Dr. Horsley in disputing his argument from Athanasius; but with regard to the other passages produced by Dr. Priestley, he has the following paragraph.

quotations from St. Chrysostom hath occurred; I must not omit to do justice to a passage, which hath suffered a little in the hands of this *emeritus* professor of Greek in the late academy at Warrington."

What relates to the passage in Dr. Priestley is as follows. It is not quoted by Dr. Horsley. "Chrysostom represents the apostle as beginning his epistle to the Hebrews with saying, that 'it was God who spake by the prophets, and by his Son, and not that Christ himself had spoken by them, because their minds were weak, and they were not able to bear the doctrine concerning Christ.'"

Dr. Priestley, in a note on this passage, gives the original. The note is as follows. "*Καὶ θεὸς τοι πρόφητας αὐτὸς εἶπεν· καὶ γὰρ αὗται
ἐπειδὴν λαλοῦσιν κατόπιν αὐτοῖς οὐ εἰ λαλοῦσιν· ἀλλ' εἰπεῖται αὐτοῖς αὐτοῖς
γάρ οὐ ψέψει, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς φύσαντο τα πτυχα των Χριστί. Φαίνεται, οὐ διατείνεται
αὐτοῖς λαλεῖσθαι.*" In Heb. cap. i. Opera, vol. x. p. 1756. i.e. 'Seperately he spoke: for he said God spake, though it was himself that spake; but because their minds were weak and they were not able to hear the things concerning Christ, he says, *God spake by him.*' N. B. The (*οὐ*) in the second clause of this passage must be inserted by mistake for (*εἰ*) or some other particle, as it contradicts what is said in the close of the sentence, and the obvious sense of the whole."

After remarking, that the Greek is nonsense and Dr. Priestley's English not very intelligible, Dr. Horsley adds:—"Had Dr. Priestley consulted any good edition of St. Chrysostom, either the Paris edition of 1736, or the old Paris edition of Fronto Ducaeus, or the Eton edition; he would have found that *καὶ γὰρ θεὸς οὐ θεός* should be *καὶ γὰρ θεὸς οὐ Χριστός*; and that *οὐ* should keep its place. "Observe (says St. Chrysostom) the apostle's prudence in the choice of his expressions. For he hath not said, *Christ spake*, although he [i.e. Christ] was the person who spake: but because their minds were weak, and they were not yet able to bear the things concerning Christ, he says, *God spake by him.*"

The particular notion, according to Dr. Horsley, that Christ was the Jehovah of the Old Testament, is what St. Chrysostom thought the Hebrews not far enough advanced in the theory of revelation to bear. He says, "Dr. Priestley, I suppose, thought it as well to keep it out of the reader's sight, that St. Chrysostom, in this very passage, speaks of Christ as the Jehovah of the Old Testament. He thought it best to keep the

* Second Letters to Dr. Horsley, Let. 10.

"The doctor, with the same design, adds a variety of passages from the writings of Chrysostom and other fathers who lived in later ages. But it would serve no good purpose to follow him through this labyrinth. Although it were unquestionably true, that all the fathers, whom he has quoted, were persuaded that the apostles were cautious in divulging the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, because of the prejudices of believing Jews, would we thence be under a necessity of concluding that the primitive church was ignorant of the deity of Christ, or that the apostles never preached this doctrine? The consequence would, indeed, be necessary, were the opinions of the fathers the rule of our faith. But, blessed be God, we have the scriptures of truth: and we are as much bound to search them for ourselves, as they were. If we find this precious doctrine in the oracles of God, it does not concern us, what was the opinion of pious, but fallible men. As far as circumstances correspond, the divine Spirit speaks as directly to us, as he did to those to whom the scriptures were immediately addressed." vol. i. pp. 293, 294.

What Dr. Priestley then considers as proved is, that the Jews expected only a man as their Messiah, and that this is expressly acknowledged by the fathers; this being the expectation concerning him, he considers it as evident that if the true meaning of the passage out of sight; and for this reason he chose to take up the corrupt and senseless reading of the Heidelberg edition (a bad copy of the Veronese text, in a very small part only collated with the Palatin and Augustan MSS.) and rejecting an emendation unanimously received by later editors, who took the pains to rectify the text by a laborious collation of many MSS. to make the best of the passage for himself, by correcting in the wrong place. Thus indeed we have a beautiful specimen of an ancient father *corrected by an unitarian!*^{**}

Whether St. Chrysostom's opinion, that Christ spake by the prophets (for that is the whole that he expresses, as may be seen in Dr. Horsley's translation) is in fact kept out of view by Dr. Priestley, the reader must judge for himself. If he should determine, that it is not only, not kept out of view, but that there is no pretence for asserting that it is, then the inferences which arise from the preceding passage of Dr. Horsley are sufficiently obvious and somewhat important.

* Remarks on Dr. Priestley's Second Letters, P. ii. c. 1. § 13, 14.

doctrine had ever been taught by himself, or preached by his apostles, that he was God, that such an astonishing disclosure would have produced the most apparent effects; and that such effects not being apparent, the disclosure was never made. That such effects were likely to be produced and were not in fact produced, he maintains to be clearly recognized by the Fathers; and that their solution of the difficulty is unsatisfactory, and improbable, and such as at the present day will not be defended.

In addition to the preceding argument, may be noticed what Dr. Priestley says, in the seventh of his First Letters respecting the disciples of Christ ever having had knowledge of the divinity of their Master.

"I would recommend it," he says to Dr. Horsley, "to your consideration, how the apostles could continue to call Christ a man, as they always do, both in the book of Acts, and in their epistles, after they had discovered him to be God. After this it must have been highly degrading, unnatural, and improper, notwithstanding his appearance in human form. Custom will reconcile us to strange conceptions of things, and very uncouth modes of speech; but let us take up the matter *ab initio*, and put ourselves in the place of the apostles and first disciples of Christ.

"They certainly saw and conversed with him at first on the supposition of his being a man, as much as themselves. Of this there can be no doubt. Their surprise, therefore, upon being informed that he was not a man, but really God, or even the maker of the world under God, would be just as great, as ours would now be on discovering that any of our acquaintance, or at least a very good man and a prophet, was in reality God, or the maker of the world. Let us consider then how we should feel, how we should behave towards such a person, and how we should speak of him afterwards. No one, I am confident, would ever call that being a man, after he was convinced that he was God. He would always speak of him in a manner suitable to his proper rank."

Dr. Priestley then makes a similar supposition concerning

two men of our acquaintance being discovered to be the angels Michael and Gabriel; and concludes with observing, that if Christ had been God, or the maker of the world, he would least of all have been considered a man in reasoning or argumentation; as is done by St. Paul when he says, that *as by man came death, so by man also came the resurrection of the dead.**

To this Dr. Horsley replied:† 1. That according to the scheme which he defended, Christ was truly man as well as God, and may therefore with propriety be spoken of as a man: 2. That it is the style of all writers, and especially of the sacred writers, to name things rather after their appearances than their internal forms: 3. That as the scheme of redemption required the incarnation of the Son of God, so in reasoning upon that scheme, it would be often necessary to insist upon his humanity: and 4. That if Dr. Priestley's assumption respecting the conduct of the apostles, that they behaved toward their master as toward a man, were correct, that the most that could be inferred would be something strange in their conduct, and that even this might be a hasty inference, considering how little circumstantial are the accounts we have of our Lord's life on earth; but that in fact "the behaviour of the apostles to our Lord during his life, possessed as they were with an imperfect wavering belief in him as the Messiah, and with indistinct notions of the Messiah's divinity, was the natural behaviour of men under these impressions." Sometimes he thinks they invoked him as a deity: as St. Peter when he was sinking in the sea, and all the disciples in a storm. Dr. Horsley thinks that if the angels, Michael and Gabriel, were to come and live among us in the manner supposed by Dr. Priestley, we should soon loose our habitual recollection of their angelic nature. "This at least," he adds, "would be the ease, if they mixed with us on an even footing, without assuming any badges of distinction, wearing a common garb, partaking of our lodging and our board, suffering in the

* First Letters to Dr. Horsley Let. 7.

† Letters to Dr. Priestley, Let. 13.

same degree with ourselves from hunger and fatigue, and seeking the same refreshments. The wonder would be if angels, in this disguise, met with any other respect, than that which dignity of character commands, with something of occasional homage, when their miraculous help was needed. This was the respect which our Lord met with from his followers."

"To this," says Dr. Priestley, "I can only say, that I am really astonished how you can entertain the idea of any number of persons living on this even footing, as you call it, with a being whom they actually believed to be the maker of themselves, and of all things, even the eternal God himself. Certainly, Sir, you never attempted to realize the idea, or even thought of putting yourself in their place, so as to have imagined yourself introduced into the actual presence of your Maker, in the form of man, or any other form whatever. You must have been overwhelmed with the very thought of it; or if you should have had the courage, and unparalleled self-possession, to bear such a thing, must there not have been numbers who would have been filled with consternation at the very idea, or the mere suspicion, of the person they were speaking to being really God? And yet we perceive no trace of any such consternation and alarm in the gospel history, no mark of astonishment in the disciples of our Lord in consequence of the belief of it, and no marks of indignation or exclamation of blasphemy, &c. against those who disbelieved it."*

To this Dr. Hersley made no reply.

(To be continued.)

ERRATUM.—P. 16, l. 10, for "omnipotence," read omniscience.

BIOGRAPHY OF J. S. SEMLER:

Translated from the original, in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek der Biblischen Litteratur.* Band. 5. Theil. 1. Leipzig, 1792.

Continued from vol. i. p. 296.

CONCERNING no book of the New Testament did Semler proceed so unfairly, as with the Apocalypse; since he hastily

* Second Letters to Dr. Hersley, Let. 11.

adopted the opinion, that it was the work of a visionary, for the advancing of fanatical notions respecting the Messiah. He neither properly estimated its contents and merits, nor critically weighed the most ancient accounts in regard to its genuineness. If it be a question whether John, the apostle and evangelist, were the author of it, still it is impossible that any one should hold as the work of a fanatic, what appears so deliberately planned and executed; for a fanatic, so far from pursuing any method, would throw every thing together confusedly. In short, Semler's mind was not calculated for the handling of such a book; and his voluminous writings upon the Apocalypse are of little value.

It was a remarkable hypothesis, upon which Semler placed great reliance, that all the letters of the apostles were accommodated to the elders, as their subordinate ministers:† It led him not only to bold hypotheses in verbal criticism upon the New Testament, but also to many artificial and unnatural explanations in his paraphrases. It was indeed natural, that the epistles should be delivered to the elders, as the heads of the church to which the apostles wrote; it is also probable, that, in the following centuries, the ministers of religion had these sacred writings in their keeping, and that they principally used them. The first promoted good order; and the

† [This hypothesis is stated by Semler in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Selecta Capitx. cap. 5. vol. i. p. 19.* "But we have ventured to conjecture," says Semler, "what is worthy of diligent inquiry and observation, that the sacred books were not promiscuously intended for the use of the great body of Christians in that age; and in conformity to this, that the epistles were not sent to the members of a church generally, but only to its leaders and ministers; and that they were not read to the common people, but inserted in the canon for the purpose of instructing the ministers of the church. Nor are there wanting evident marks, that they were written with abbreviations of letters, and in a style so rude and unpolished, that in the second and third centuries there were learned men who endeavoured to amend the phrases and the modes of writing. Clear proofs of this exist, some of which Wetstein has collected, (see his *libelli* edited at this place, p. 28, 48. seq.) and others may be found in the more ancient manuscripts." Ed.]

last is rendered probable, not only from the vocation of the ecclesiastics, but also from the circumstances of the small number of copies, and of the few persons among the laity who could read the writings. But it is improbable, and opposed to many internal marks and expressions in the epistles themselves, that they were designed exclusively for the use of the elders, and entrusted solely to them.

Concerning the design and use of the New Testament Semler advanced, with great freedom, opinions, widely different in many points from those commonly received. But it is to be regretted, that he has rather scattered them confusedly through all his writings, than pursued them methodically; so that one cannot without difficulty find and collect them into one mass: and where he touches upon them, he has exhibited them in such dark and indefinite language, and in a form so crude, that they have been estimated by few only according to their merit; and by most they have been slandered, and condemned as dangerous and pernicious. Lessing, however, found the art of collecting them from his writings, or enjoyed the same opinions in common with him.

According to Semler the writings of the New Testament are in their design accommodated to time and place, neither intended for all times and all people, nor to be considered as indispensable sources of Christianity. They were particularly and immediately intended, not for the whole Christian church to the end of the world, but only for the contemporaries of the apostles; not for all Christians of that time, but only for particular churches and places; not for universal application, but only as helps in exigencies peculiar to certain times and places, having constant regard to present situations, opinions, and controversies;—and containing much, which even then, was inapplicable, useless, and unintelligible to other churches and places: and which must be still more so to us and to our times. How much of their contents imparts no light to us, and includes nothing in respect to us of peculiar benefit or importance! To what amounts the value of these writings as springs of Christianity? The religion was long in being, and

long received, before a word of our New Testament was written. It was received as true by means of verbal instructions, and was extensively propagated before any one had thought of written instructions; and was taken by every one in his own way, and used by all according to the bent of their own minds, before it recommended itself by any written accounts. After those occasional writings, which are collected in the New Testament, appeared, (from thirty to forty years after the commencement of Christianity,) some centuries passed away, before they were generally known and read. And yet men without number, who had never read a line of those writings, were as good Christians as the readers themselves; though they received their religion, and believed and applied its principles, barely by means of the instructions handed down to them, of the reflections thence excited, and of its good and wholesome consequences. Their understandings were enlightened upon the weightiest concerns of man without the means of written instruction; their moral sense was formed, and the spirit of morality, that the religion of Jesus inspires, was, in this period of time, as well propagated from race to race, as after the time when these writings came into general circulation. Experience then teaches, that the New Testament is not an indispensable source of Christianity.

Thus new, and bold, and fearful were the ideas that Semler proclaimed concerning the design and use of the New Testament; and they appeared (particularly in the dark and indefinite manner in which the author presented them), to be fraught with very dangerous consequences. Were the writings of the New Testament barely local and temporary, and even in the time of their authors unintelligible, useless, or inapplicable to other churches and places, for which they were not designed, they must be so in later times in a still higher degree; and one may look upon what they propose, as no rule for the altered condition of mankind in following times. We are thus in constant danger of mistaking the sense of their contents, and of transferring to ourselves what is inapplicable to our modes of thinking; of changing local propositions into

those of universal extent, and allusions, references, and accommodations to Judaism, and to the limited views of the first Christians, into essential doctrines, and thus of being continually deceived. Had it not been better, and more for the common benefit, if the local had been separated from the general; the essential from the temporary; the original purpose from the complete design; that which was adapted to Jews, from that which was intended for the common benefit of mankind; if the writings should become destined for us? Can then every one undertake this separation for himself, rejecting erroneous interpretations, and avoiding false applications? In this way the writings of the New Testament have no longer the authority that has been generally attributed to them by Christians—to effect obedience and conviction, and to be called the inviolable ground of our Christian opinions. And yet such an authority appears necessary for the whole of Christendom, since few from their own free conviction, most, on the contrary, by a divine sanction, which has been supposed to be connected with the scriptures, have been moved to that which chance has led them to believe and perform. Thus indeed what appears in the New Testament—the traces of things temporary and local; of a Jewish spirit mixed with the Christian; the feeble commencement of Christianity with its full perfection—would lead to consequences, which might become pernicious to all mankind.

A more close and critical attention to Semler's opinions shows that they are free from the charge of such dangerous consequences. Christ has not reduced, and could not reduce his religion, to universal principles, out of which its full spirit should flow, because he was a popular teacher; but it was necessary for him, in order to engage the attention of the great mass of men, to present it in such forms and portions as had regard to particular cases and examples. Hence must the representations become so local, so temporary and national. Out of peculiar and local circumstances, temporary and national examples, we are obliged to collect and arrange the substance of his religion, as it lies concealed in them here and

there, and to transfer them to our times, and customs, and modes of thinking: what is special and peculiar we must generalize; what has its origin from different modes of illustration and different circumstances, we must reduce to our modes of illustration and our circumstances; and what is presented to us in uncommon words and expressions, we must exchange for such as are common and intelligible. As foreign to us as the local and temporary garb, and as difficult as the application of the local contents of the New Testament may be, yet it does not follow that we cannot explain, and understand, and justly apply them; but this only follows—that *all* cannot do it. The interpreting and application of it is a peculiar art, into the secrets of which one cannot be initiated without some pains; and the common Christian in the concerns of Christianity, like the common citizen in regard to the laws of the land, has need of an interpreter, who has possessed himself of all the helps necessary for practising the art. Thus the New Testament remains still the first and the unchangeable source of Christian belief; and may still preserve all the high authority that it has ever had from its divine sanctions to regulate belief and practice.

It is indeed an empty dream for one to imagine the possibility of faithfully preserving a religion for a thousand years together without written documents; or to suppose that, because the Christian religion was founded and extended by oral instructions before our New Testament, it would still have been kept pure without any record. The ideas which are confided to the memories and understandings of men become so easily and entirely mixed with others, and so readily pass in this state for what they were when originally received, that after manifold modifications and additions, they are so transformed, that not a shadow of them remains. Whence could we know the principles of a philosophical school with any degree of certainty, if they had not been handed down to us from the first generation? With no more certainty could we now ascertain what Christ and his apostles taught, after having passed through the refinements of Platonists and Aris-

totelians, and the brains of so many thousands, differing in their manner of representing it, in their knowledge and genius, if it had not, in the first generation, been secured from destruction by written records. So strongly did the teachers follow tradition even in the first centuries, that they availed themselves not only of this slender support, but also of a tradition firmly fixed, and secured from corruption by means of those documents of Christianity that are still extant. And can one affirm with reason and justice, that genuine Christianity might have been propagated in its purity, a single century, unless its purity were preserved by means of written documents?

Of what consequence indeed is it that the Christianity contained in the New Testament is only the ground-work, not the perfect and most elaborate form? Grant that the first teachers of it have made only a beginning to enlighten the human understanding concerning its design, to elevate the heart of man, by means of better maxims, and to extirpate pernicious prejudices; is not the reformation of mankind the work rather of centuries, than of a single moment? Could those teachers have furnished any thing more than the maxima which we were further to unfold, and to apply according to time and place and other circumstances? any thing more than a pattern for throwing aside those prejudices which attend every period? It was not to be expected, nor was it possible that these writings should do every thing for us: nor were they intended to favor the indolence of mankind, by thinking for them, and saving them the pains of individual examination. The principles contained in them should be such, as to guide our investigations; to be our clew in the labyrinth of inquiry, to preserve us from wandering out of the boundaries of religion; the means of gradual approach to God: and all this these writings are adapted to effect, notwithstanding what is local and temporary, and their remoteness from a perfect display of a system by means of mere elements; since these elements prepare the way for the better use of our understanding, of our convictions and moral sentiments.

The representations of Semler concerning the New Testament being thus defined and limited, all difficulties which appear to impugn them, fall of themselves; and the writings of the New Testament remain, what they have hitherto been to christendom, and what they must still remain for the good of mankind;—not barely honorable records of the founding of the Christian religion, but also the first instrument for effecting our present convictions and moral improvement;—not merely the monuments of excellent men, which shall serve only to perpetuate the memory of their deserts, and for curious inquiries concerning the history of Christianity, but also instructive columns in which are engraved the first lines of moral elevation. They are the pole-star of our understanding, when it wanders in the region of speculation; the touch-stone of instructions delivered to us; the living spark that preserves the flame of moral sentiment for the mass of mankind: were it extinguished, it would be the extinction of the light of Christian morality, and its place could not be supplied by the illuminations of any philosophical system.

Thus extensive were Semler's historico-critical investigations concerning the New Testament. He also directed his critical inquiries to the Old Testament; but in a manner by no means so extensive and profound as to the New. They were still respectable at his time, however inconsiderable they might be deemed at this day.

In many of his writings he repeatedly presented to view the historical considerations which must serve for the basis of criticism upon the Old Testament, and treated of the history of the Hebrew alphabet, of the points and accents, of the Masora, and ancient versions, and of the subjects connected with them.* In all these particulars however he had little that was peculiar; and trusted himself chiefly to the guidance of the excellent, and in his time, the great Richard Simon; by whose assistance he broke through the inclosure, within which the

* For example—in his *Apparatus ad liberalem interpretationem V. T. 1773, 8vo;* and in the *Hermeneutischen Vorbereitungen, Stück 1. and 2.*

Christian rabbins had hitherto confined the criticism of the Old Testament. If he fell behind his leader, still he advanced his reputation in things which had been too long viewed with contempt. Filled with the same spirit, he was one of the first in Germany, who to the best of his ability defended the utility of Kennicott's collation of masoretic manuscripts, whilst he himself collated a Hebrew fragment, and excited others among his German contemporaries to similar undertakings.* In another work he recommended critical attention to the Septuagint, and to the fragments of the Hexapla, and not only proposed the means for this, but accompanied his propositions with his own critical inquiries upon the Hexaplarian fragments of the psalms, of the writings of Solomon, of the prophets, and of Job; and lived to experience the pleasure of seeing other scholars follow his example in this sort of conjectural criticism.†

At length through Semler's means, the question concerning the canon and the canonical writings of the Old and New Testament became seriously agitated, and during the contest to which it led, it was in due time prepared for peaceful and fruitful inquiry. He has not indeed himself furnished a correct judgment concerning the question; but still he has contributed to its accomplishment by the independent manner, in which he met the inquiry.‡

He first secured the investigation of this weighty subject from all danger of the accusation of heresy; by showing from the history of the first century of the church, and the earliest times after the reformation, that in these two remarkable periods, every thinking man was allowed to discuss it; and the boldness with which many, at all periods, had uttered their

* *Admonitio de observandis Hebraicorum MStorum membranis quae tegendis aliis libris serviunt*, 1764, 4to.

† *Epistola ad M. J. J. Griesbach de emendandis græcis V. T. interpretibus*. 1769, 8vo.

‡ Semler's *Abhandlung von der freyen Untersuchung des Kannons*. Dissertation on the liberal investigation of the Canon. Halle 1771—4, 4 vols. 8vo.

opinions concerning the canonical claims of certain books of the Old and New Testament, he proved out of the works of Luther, and other protestant theologians.

If one wish to determine Semler's own opinion concerning the canon, inspiration, and revelation, it is difficult to find any certain ground. Instead of clearly unfolding his opinions on these subjects, and connecting them together methodically, he threw them together, as it were designedly, in confusion, and veiled what was peculiar to himself concerning them, in mysterious darkness. Perhaps he considered it advisable not to come out in a clear and definite manner, and uttered himself equivocally with design, for the sake of his personal security, in hope, however, that he should still at length lead the reflecting reader to his private opinion. This at least was the consequence of the whole great contest. Other men of deep penetration, who took no farther part in the controversy, have adopted ideas from Semler, unfolded them with foresight and caution, distinguished and separated revelation from inspiration, divine from canonical writings—things so distinct in themselves, and have formed a consistent theory concerning revelation, inspiration, and the canon of scripture.

They who enlisted in opposition to Semler were indeed beating the air: they confounded divine with canonical writings, revealed religion with the latter, the divinity of a book with its utility to religion, and its serviceableness for Christians, and did not comprehend the ideas of their adversary. Semler affirmed at the commencement, that the word *canon* did not originally mean either with Jews or Christians a collection of books, which had been written under special inspiration. Among Jews this name has been applied to a collection of old national writings, various in respect to their value and contents; among Christians to a collection of writings, which should serve for public reading in the Christian church, and for the promotion of greater uniformity in teaching. Neither Christ nor Paul considered the national books of the Jews as universally acknowledged writings of truth for

the benefit of people in all times; Christ commanded them to the Jews, only in as far as they thought to find the way to happiness portrayed in them, consequently merely from accommodation to their private notions, which he wished not directly to disturb; but Paul reprobated them directly, on account of the beggarly ordinances they contained. All the writings of the New Testament could not have the same universal binding force for Christians, amidst the dissimilarity of their internal contents; for the word of God and divine inspiration reveal nothing but what is adapted to the subjects of them.

Only that part of scripture, concerning which it must be acknowledged that it conduces or has conduced to spiritual improvement can be considered as inspired or as the word of God; and therefore the acknowledgment and extent of what is divine or godly and what is inspired must be commutable with each other. From this principle flowed Semler's whole theory upon the Old and New Testament. According to it the writings of the Old Testament are not in the least degree binding upon the Christian: for how far could he by their means become morally better? The historical books of the New Testament are important, particularly to the weak, who can be guided better by means of history, than by principles exhibited more in the form of instruction. The remaining writings of the New Testament are for the man of stronger intellect, and these are the sources of his religious knowledge, till he has made the ideas, there presented, his own. If they now become obvious to him, and he builds further upon the same ground, then has he reached the age of manhood in the affairs of religion; in him is the spirit of Christ, and he needs no further this elementary book. And he who, out of the communion of the church, arrives, by the direction of providence, in a different way, at the same knowledge as the Christian, is as good in the sight of God as the Christian, and much more pleasing to him, than those narrow men, who, without being impressed by the power of Christianity and its light, only hold inflexibly to its canonical books. It is therefore the duty of the teacher

not to press the conscience of the Christian with disputes concerning the extent of the canon, but to yield to every one the right of free decision concerning it, for the extension of spiritual communion. Who will not acknowledge a luminous view, and a liberal spirit, unfettered by system, in this theory, even though he may scruple to subscribe to it entirely? This important subject admits however a more exact elucidation. The criterion of what is divine, which is left so ambiguous by Semler, may be made much more definite, and a middle way be opened concerning inspiration, for the satisfaction of parties, hitherto not agreed concerning it, which may bring them nearer together. Modern scholars have attempted this; but if they would acknowledge the fact, without Semler's attack upon the old Gothic structure of theories concerning revelation, inspiration, and canonical authority, and the total destruction of it, their more modern structure would not have been so easy, to them.

A new epoch in ecclesiastical history commenced with Semler. At the time of the reformation it was attempted to bring the work of purifying opinions to a stand, and support it against future assaults. The Magdeburg ecclesiastics excelled, and manifested a zeal and activity, as if engaged in a rival contest; and it seemed as if the protestants, in a short time, would come into possession of the most perfect annals of the Christian church, and thus crown the work of its reformation. After this rapid pace followed a long, sluggish inactivity. The protestant zeal appeared to have exhausted itself in its first efforts; and the quiet sons of active reformers were content to repose in the acquired possessions of their fathers, without the thought of gaining any thing new, or extending their inheritance. They barely epitomized their zealous predecessors, and gleaned out of them compendiums, unconcerned about the investigation of historical truth, and the increasing of historical materials from genuine sources. Certain Fathers were still examined, through a spirit of emulation, in order to gain advantage in polemic warfare over the old church; but no one properly estimated the use of their works for the bet-

ter culture of ecclesiastical history; as if all the historical materials were already exhausted from them.

After the long interval of two hundred years Arnold appeared. With a mind which embraced every thing, he first shewed the Germans how a copious history of the church must be written, though he was not able to write it himself. His active, desultory genius urged him on with too much haste in his labors; his irritability filled him with too great abhorrence of the ruling party of the church; and so many fortunate triumphs over the usual historical prejudices, which no one before him had dared to encounter, made him too bold and positive, without duly conciliating his readers, and securing their favorable opinion of his judgment. Mosheim, endowed with a prompt and pleasing genius, received with politic silence the plan of Arnold, not excepting its imperfections and faults, and labored after him, although with less boldness, still with more taste, with a better and more deliberate study of authorities, and with a kind of smooth eloquence peculiar to himself. His work supplied a want which had long been felt, without being satisfied, and has preserved his name in all protestant countries, even to this time, in honorable remembrance. Like his predecessors however, he is chargeable with many faults. They all meanly crept in leading strings; and there was wanting in all an enlarged view of the various revolutions in the church, for creating a proper historical method, according to remarkable divisions or periods. No one ventured upon a critical examination of the historians of the church to the time of the assembling of counsels, and of the *Acta sanctorum*; and, in general, of the sources of history lying at a distance. None characterised with sufficient acuteness the spirit of the church and of history, changing at different periods. None ventured to change, with the change of time and materials, the structure which had once been framed for the different centuries. No one was animated by the genuine spirit of independence.

At length Semler appeared. He took a powerful and commanding stand, and surveyed the immense field of church history even to the borders of the eighteenth century, beyond which he did not pass.

At his entrance upon his office of Professor at Halle, Baumgarten directed him in the cultivation of this part of theological learning, and marked out to him the way in which he should go through a *breviarium* to which he was to adhere in his lectures. Fleury's very ordinary collections were throughout the ground-work. With his exalted ideas of Baumgarten's immense learning, Semler could not dream that so great a man would in his public labors adhere to a meager author, instead of repairing to the genuine sources of knowledge. He now ransacked folios day and night, to illustrate his *breviarium* which was drawn, as he supposed, from genuine sources, by means of a thorough search into them. All the helps furnished by Baronius lay before him; and he studied them with unwearyed assiduity to obtain materials for his lectures; but he found himself not unfrequently, after long nights of anxiety, passed without sleep, still left to the vexation of disappointment. He now conjectured that there must be other books from which Baumgarten borrowed his historical treasures; but he could not find them. At length he made his complaints to Father Baumgarten, and most anxiously entreated him for such references as would enable him to procure with most ease and expedition all necessary instruction; for his prodigious and fruitless labors threatened to destroy his health.

Baumgarten had not conjectured that his scholar, Semler, would discover so much good natured inexperience in literary handicraft; still he was not disposed to forego any of his literary eminence, so exalted in the view of Semler, and dismissed the anxious suppliant with the unkind reply—"every thing will gradually come to you." In time certain uncommon French-sounding terminations in the proper names revealed to Semler the secret of a French original, and Heilman, Semler's particular friend, completed the discovery by informing him that it was Fleury. From this time he felt himself much relieved.

In the mean time necessity had led him to a diligent study of original authorities, which he uninterruptedly pursued from

this time, through all periods of the history of the church, to the great advancement of this department of learning.

The fathers now received all his attention, and he became in respect to them by means of his keen and happy views, what no professed student in the fathers had been before. This study however had been a subject of theological parade for more than two hundred years; but, as is commonly the case with studies of parade, it had been pursued without vigor and spirit. It degenerated into an idle employment, and a literary luxury, and served at best as an arsenal for polemics, whence they might borrow their arms to use against the catholic church. But the study of the fathers is capable of becoming in the highest degree useful, by enabling us to diffuse light over the darkness of theological systems; to represent impartially the first form of Christian doctrines, and hence the transformations which they have since undergone; to shew from their writings that what is now reprobated as vile and accursed heresy, passed with them uncontradicted for pure and complete orthodoxy; and to claim on their authority that freedom of judgment in modern theology, which was exercised by them without limitation or restraint. For this and much else, in which they are in the highest degree useful, they have not had the weight they deserve; and indeed have been almost entirely neglected. Who would have thought in the time of theological barbarism during the seventeenth, and extending even to the middle of the eighteenth century, of such a use of the fathers of the church, when a holy anathema threatened all those who should dare to break through the renowned barriers of the system—the *formula concordiae*. The few men of elevated minds, who would illuminate the sanctuary of the church by light borrowed from the fathers, the great Calixtus, Arnold, Pfaff, the heralds of truth among protestants, met, sooner or later, the anathemas of their dull and illiterate contemporaries, or a theological martyrdom; and they were, long after their death, handed down to posterity as warning examples. Still they were eminently the ornaments of their time, not merely on account of their respectable theological learn-

ing, but also in regard to their clear views of the reigning theological system; and they contributed more or less to the reformation and purifying of the same, according to the several circumstances of the external condition in which they found themselves placed, to the genius of the race among which they lived, and the capacity of mankind in the same period for the reception of light.

Part of Semler's investigations concerning the fathers of the church was directed to the authenticity of their writings; and, if supposed to be spurious, to the designation of the person or party by which they were probably forged; to the object and end of the imposture, and what depended upon it.* He aimed particularly at a critical illustration and fair exposition of their writings; to which end he scattered through all his works many explanatory grammatical remarks. He shewed by many striking examples, that there is not only a peculiar chronology, but also a peculiar geography in the theological language; that in different places totally distinct meanings are connected with the same words; (as for example in *φυσις*, *εννοια*, *ὑποτακτικη*, &c.) that one must make this distinction, and explain every writer according to the place of his abode, so as not to find differences in things and opinions, which exist only apparently in the words. He made also instructive extracts from the fathers, as helps for interpretation and biblical criticism, and for the history of churches and doctrines. In regard to the last, as far as they are subservient to church history, he subjected the fathers to a critical examination concerning their peculiar circumstances and the contents of their writings, which in its vehemence sometimes perhaps degenerates into hostility and injustice, but always, if it deserves this blame, discovers a deep and masterly research. If he had once discovered in any of the fathers credulity, or

* See Semler's Latin and German works upon the oldest histories of the church, with the articles upon the epistle of Barnabas, the shepherd of Hermas, upon the epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians, the epistles of Ignatius, the epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, and upon the writings of Athenagoras, Irenaeus, Cyprian, &c.

an inclination to the fabulous, he became inexorably severe against him, and distrusted every thing that he uttered. Papias was (who can deny it?) a weak and stupid man;* which must excite distrust of his authority whenever he is the single voucher for a fact; Semler, however, stopped not here, but extended his incredulity to most accounts which were vouched by Papias at all. In polemics Irenaeus and Tertullian were often hair-brained babblers and insufferable sophists; but are their historical accounts for this reason of no value, and destitute of credibility? They who have adopted Semler's indignant manner against these fathers, on account of their loquacity and sophistry, have colored all his judgments concerning them, and denied the justice which seems to be due to them, as the earliest witnesses in the affairs of the church.

Semler manifested great acuteness in discovering to what party the several fathers belonged; an investigation, which has led to important results, and must still continue so to do, if it be undertaken with that earnestness, which the fathers, from their importance in the history of the church, claim for it. He traced resemblances in the highest degree suspicious between Irenaeus and the montanists, and threatened to annihilate his respectability by an accusation, which, if it should succeed, must draw after it the total destruction of the church history of two centuries. Great advances have indeed already been made by means of the peculiar agreement discovered, and in a manner demonstrated, between Irenaeus, Justin, and the montanist, Tertullian.

Tertullian in particular received Semler's full attention, in an edition executed by himself. At first he proposed only an impression of the five books against Marcion, to excite in young theologians a love of the study of the fathers, and to introduce them to the peculiarities of their language. The choice discovered his wisdom. Tertullian, the first principal writer of the Latin church, and classic author of the African ecclesiasties, the true father of church-latinity, a scholar, and a remarkable literary character, must, before all others, be the

* Poppy-head.

manual of those who are willing to venture upon the study of the fathers. The books against Marcion stand among his best and most learned writings; an important monument for biblical criticism and interpretation, indispensable to every inquirer into the critical history of the scriptures. That part which was intended for a manual, which young theologians were to study through, was accomplished with great perfection: the most important readings were collected together under the text, and sometimes examined, and, together with the opinion of the father, especially when it concerned the sense of a passage of scripture, illustrated in few words. In the *index latinitatis* the peculiar and therefore difficult latinity of Tertullian is explained, which relieves the student from many impediments; and, as far as the dark and unpleasant style of the editor admits, it is rendered agreeable.

The approbation which this edition received from scholars conversant with the fathers, excited him to give his diligence to the whole of Tertullian; and, through hints concerning the light he might diffuse upon interpretation of scripture, the history of the Bible, of the church and of doctrines, to bespeak attention. He must be envious indeed of another's deserts, who allows no merit to Semler's Tertullian, although it is not so great as it might have been, if he had devoted more time and exertion to the work. In the edition of the text errors occur, which make a new revision of it necessary; but he has accomplished much. The readings are drawn from sources that were open to Semler, and in part are critically examined; which indeed was no easy task, since the manner of writing is so peculiar and uncommon, and filled with such unusual and difficult expressions, as were the occasion in transcribers as well of errors in copying, as of wilful changes and interpolations. The text is accompanied with explanations of the language, but more sparingly than one could wish: still the *index latinitatis* is no inconsiderable assistance to the reader, who, not accustomed to African Latin, is too often perplexed by its difficulties; but it is almost impossible to satisfy all the necessities which are felt. In fine the writings of

Tertullian, composed at wholly different times, under directions of mind the most diverse, and comprising most various principles, are suffered to remain mixed together without any regard to chronological order, and the reader never receives any instructions concerning the order in which he must read them, if he wish to trace the progress of the author's mind. A skilful reader, and one accustomed to reflection, will easily discover in what writings the spirit of the father becomes changed, his theological views take another direction, and he inclines to the montanists. But no editor should count merely upon such a reader; he should rather instruct every reader in the predominant characteristics of every writing, and, for more convenient use, place it in chronological order.

In the year 1775, Semler caused to be printed the excellent letter of Pelagius to Demetrias, and Augustin's miserable censure of the same, with annotations—a most important work for the examination of the doctrine concerning the total corruption of human nature, and its incapacity for any thing good, as father Augustin has drawn it out of the Latin version by means of his miserable explanations, sanctified it by his reputation, and raised it to a fundamental article;—a subject which deserved to be treated by Semler with his accustomed frankness and honesty. His annotations upon this letter claimed again for the good monk Pelagius the reputation of orthodoxy, of which nothing but the furious clamors of Augustin could have deprived him, since Pelagius thought, and discoursed, and wrote better concerning the doctrine of human corruption, than any one, especially in the Graecian church, before the time of Augustin.

It was an easy task for Semler to investigate the subject of ecclesiastical history subsequent to the time of the fathers, in the writers of the middle ages; more easy than to the great mass of our modern historians, notwithstanding most of them from their professions have had occasion for a familiar acquaintance with these writers. All the inquirers into political history had recourse to the same authorities; because, in the middle ages, what was spiritual and what was temporal ran

into each other, and scholars whose provinces were the most unlike stood in need of many materials from the middle ages, and were continually invited to read, examine, and to estimate the value of the historians of those ages. Notwithstanding this, not one of all the necessary preparations for a safe and proper use of the chronicles and annals of these writers has appeared even to our times. What any one has found he has caused to be published, and told us how it was found; but without criticism or selection, or the comparison of one work with another. Regard was paid merely to the names, not to the contents of historical works, and as many different names as were discovered, so many different works were reckoned, and newly printed. Thus was acquired a whole library of thick folios of the middle ages, before which an iron industry might tremble; for it appears at first sight like an ocean, which one must despair of exhausting. A nearer acquaintance however lessens the dread. Greater and more impudent plagiarists than the historians of the middle ages are not to be found in the whole history of literature. Few of their works are original; most are servile copies: sometimes the beginning, sometimes the middle, and sometimes the end may belong to the person whose name stands in the title page. Following writers epitomized those who went before them, without pointing out their authors, or brought together for their own purpose various chronicles literally compiled;—now for the sake of honoring an institution, a martyr, or a saint, and again for some more general and extensive object; as the *Annales Saxo*, composed of fragments, collected from various sources. A writer often cites in support of a fact, two, three, or four names, as witnesses, or responsible vouchers, and when carefully examined they will probably all centre in one, whom the remainder have transcribed without naming him. Little however has been done of what ought to have been long since accomplished. The works of the middle ages are not examined according to the historical worth of their contents; originals are not distinguished from copies; and writers, who are still extant in their original text, are

not compared with the copies revised in the middle ages, whereas they deserve attention in these first impressions taken from them. Nor have the particular characteristics of their works been described with reference to their place of nativity and period of time, order in the church, materials and objects; nor these again employed to show the place and time of anonymous and uncertain writings. Their texts still abound with errors of all kinds, which their editors have not discovered; but which one might perceive with eyes half awake, if the original and copies, the genuine and revised texts were fairly exhibited together. Thick darkness, which can be dispersed only by examination, still rests upon words, names, and things, upon the geography, arts, customs, and history of the middle ages. Whatever *Dacheri*, *Martene*, *Muratorius*, and others, through the assistance of many brethren of their order, have accomplished, the literature of the middle ages has since, as it were, sighed from neglect. Had not *Christ* and *Straue* secured the rights of criticism in the miserable chronicles of the monks, it had not descended even to this third century after *Christ*; and if *du Chesne* had not prepared a glossary for the future explanation of the writings of the monks, that great field, from which laurels as fresh as from that of the old classic historians may be plucked, would not even have been known by name.

It was reserved for Semler to break his path through the thorns of chronicles and annals, of martyrologies and holy legends. Not accustomed to shrink from difficulties, he was not restrained from reading the tiresome authors which came in his way, either by their barbarous latinity, so opposite to the classic Latin style, or by the irksome rhetoric of the cloister—which substitutes the sayings and expressions of the Vulgate for the strong political maxims with which the old classic historians seasoned their works; nor was he deterred by the strange language, in which one must acquire a considerable facility before he can determine with certainty the sense of the historians of the middle ages.

In the first and fortunate year of his professorship at Alt-

derff, the study of German history in Köhler led him to the *Corpora rerum italicarum, francicarum, germanicarum*, out of which he collected together under certain general heads, things corresponding with each other, and at that time made the important remark, that the later annals and chronicles were nothing but copies, here and there changed, from those that preceded. He pursued this investigation many years, and at length brought together the result of his valuable observations upon the spirit and character of the chronicles of the middle ages, in an essay upon the use of the original authorities for ecclesiastical and civil history during the middle ages—the first, and to this time the only critical work of its kind—small indeed in extent, but great and precious in regard to its contents. It consists however only of single observations placed together, which lead to no permanent and universal principles, but which indeed prepare for these, and shew by select examples the method by which we might obtain clearer views of the history of the middle ages, if our historians were less illiterate, and sought for applause less in what is foreign to their subjects. He represented the absurdities of the monkish Latin; how in the sixth century in regard to grammar, construction, and disposition of the ideas it became a strange and irregular mixture from the use of barbarous words taken out of the modern European languages, which rendered the reading and the understanding of every writer in the highest degree difficult; how in the eighth century the *magis scholariter scribere* became more common among the ecclesiastics, who were more obedient to the dominion of Priscian, and as an expiation for their sins against learning, copied more after classical authors; how likewise the monks from this time perceived that history was capable of receiving a better dress than that in which it commonly appeared, and how in order to make trial of it, they composed rhyming chronicles, and believed the wonders which they enveloped in fine apparel; how insufferable the manner, and language, and narration of the past century gradually became to them, and how they revised the former barbarous chronicles—the *acta*

of histories rendered according to their own manner and fashion; how at length in the tenth century, since about the time of Otho the great, the historical taste of the ecclesiastics, together with their manner of writing history so manifestly improved, that, during the reign of this emperor, and for sometime after him, the details of history became connected and progressive, and after so many childish attempts in history, Luitprand, Witekind, and Dithmar appeared. He shewed what peculiarities in the manner and language of narration were discoverable according to the different centuries, nations, and objects of the authors of these histories; how the monks of St. Gallen delighted in a bold and careless habit, in assurance, verbosity, and affected wit; how the *Annales Monastici* exhibit a peculiar Latin idiom, and the sacred histories, particularly those written by the Benedictines, are filled with singular rhetorical scraps; how confined historical communications were in those times; whence, amidst all their plagiarisms, the chroniclers of the several European states seldom stole from one another, but Germans plundered their own countrymen, and the French annalists, seldom coming over the Rhine, rarely furnished the German annalists with any thing pertaining to them. In fine Semler gave rich specimens of illustration, of verbal and general criticism, as he afterwards accustomed himself to scatter them abundantly through all his works upon the middle ages; and shewed by examples, that learning and genius were as much tried by laboring through the barren monkish chronicles, as in the ancient classics. What Gatterer recommended concerning this period, in his historical collections, to young historians, who wished to prove their historico-critical genius to their native land, that they should investigate the history of the middle ages, the same did Semler likewise recommend. But it is to be lamented, that the example, the directions, and persuasions of two such great men could not overcome the plague, the indolence, and love of ease, in our common historians. They are rather party writers, without knowledge of original sources, and without personal examination of the historical truth.

of what they can scrape together in haste, out of writers easy of access; and they prefer an ephemeral reputation in the pages of a mercenary gazette, to permanent historical merit.

Semler, who proceeded with such preparatory labor, so much study, such inquiry into the original authorities, and such extensive reading, to the elaboration of historical works, could deliver nothing common. His works upon ecclesiastical history have, both in the choice of materials, and their disposition in certain points of view, much that is peculiar. He departed little however from the customary method of the historians of the church who preceded him. Like his predecessors, he servilely pursued the unwieldy plan of division into centuries, as easily as he must have perceived, that the history might be much more conveniently conducted according to greater and smaller divisions of time, defined by the windings of the history itself. He so far however forsook the beaten track, as not to adhere to the same uniform method through every century, as if there were in all the same unbroken identity of destiny, of scenes and events, and the same great extent and uniform sufficiency of materials. With the change of materials and events he changed the number and extent of his divisions, compressed or amplified the contents, added new chapters, rejected old titles, and changed the arrangement. In the most ancient periods he dwelt particularly upon heresies. In the fourth century he was full upon the collecting and ordering of churches; in the sixth, when reflection upon subjects of theology gradually ceased, and therefore the cries of heresy were hushed, and when good writings were rare, heresies appeared only as incidental; in the eighth the history of episcopacy appeared to him worthy of particular examination, and in the tenth, that of papacy claimed the same consideration.*

* His principal works upon ecclesiastical history are:

Selecta capita historicæ ecclesiastices. Halle, 1767—9, 3 tom. 8vo.

Essay towards an ample compendium of ecclesiastical history (Gespann.) 3 vol. 8vo.

Commentarii historici de antiquo Christianorum statu.

Essay upon Christian annals (German). Halle, 1783, 8vo.

Novæ observationes ad H. Z. &c.

The particular excellence of Semler's works upon ecclesiastical history is to be sought in his choice of valuable materials, in the clear point of view in which he has placed them, and in the independent judgment that he has exercised in regard to a great part of them. From sources which before him had lain out of the region of ecclesiastical historians, or from which they had drawn but very imperfectly, he collected, by means of his extensive reading, that especially, which had hitherto been almost or wholly unknown; and hence he selected from the acts of councils and their canons whatever best served the purpose of historical instruction concerning the Christian church, its external and internal condition in each period, and described it on all sides, the good with the bad. He attempted in particular to supply the deficiencies of former ecclesiastical histories, to banish their partialities, and to do away their party-spirit. What others had already well elucidated and justly executed, he either omitted altogether, or touched but slightly. He wished to give only that which he had investigated before any other, or had examined more thoroughly, and preferred a *lacuna* in the details of history, to transcribing the works of his predecessors. He was satisfied too in the main barely with copious extracts from his authorities, without elaborating them with historical art. And does he not deserve thanks and approbation, for having in this way exhibited what was of most consequence from fathers and councils in *excerpts* for the indolent historians, who shudder at folios, or for men who would wish to see the elements of their knowledge, but have neither opportunity, time, nor patience enough to explore the original sources? He who is not determined to avoid writings which serve for serious study, and not merely for conversation, can now judge for himself, and learn from these extracts the modes of teaching of the ruling party, and the contrast exhibited by the weaker; and thence, as well as from the wavering and ambiguity of reputable teachers in ideas and expressions, draw consequences, which must direct his judgment concerning the present systems of theology. For such purposes he is an assistance to all considerate readers. Sometimes he inserts a

critical parenthesis between the words of his original, or directs the attention by some other means to objects worthy of examination. Thus he accustomed the inexperienced reader to reflection; and by this means his writings upon ecclesiastical history have become a pleasing guide, by which one may read and study the works which embrace it, in a profitable manner.

It cannot be denied however, that these constant excerpta were of little value to many readers; since for them too much remained undone. Nothing was wrought out. It was too confidently expected, that what was cited would speak for itself, without regard to the incapacity of most minds to comprehend what was spoken. The father in a manner presented himself, and showed his works; but how many could know without the sign and motto subjoined, how they should use them, or what they could borrow from them for polemic and dogmatic theology; for ethics and interpretation? Semler could have made a much better use of his excerpta than he did: he should have employed them barely as records; and should merely have called them in as vouchers for the truth of what he collected from them, and expressed in his own words.

His judgment was in the main just and acute, but in some cases too stern and unmerciful. It was right and just that he, unpolluted by the passions which reigned in the church, should describe the vices and corruption of the ecclesiastics, and the strides of hierarchy, in strong and lively colours. But it was a fault, not peculiar however to himself, that he generalized with too much violence the vices recorded of many members of the body of ecclesiastics, and transferred them not only to the whole clergy, but to the great mass of common Christians. The deeds of honorable and righteous men, unless it may be by accident, are seldom distinguished, because one discovers in them nothing but the result of duty and obligation: but may not one suppose that, together with great vices, there were to be found also great virtues in those living in the same age? Are all the worthy ecclesiastics of a country, as well as the worthless, found in the transactions of the consistories of our

time? and would it be otherwise in the acts of councils? And as to the laity—must all these bear the crimes of a few; since, according to sad experience, theological learning dwells too frequently in a base heart?

One is not to look in Semler for every thing pertaining to the church—not for the whole circle of its history, but abstracts concerning particular subjects of importance, with new and striking views; nothing entire, but particularly select, excellent and bold observations and hypotheses; no clear light; but the materials for its future appearance, if an impartial, philosophical historian of a powerful mind, and, as far as possible, furnished with a complete view of the sources of ecclesiastical history, should elaborately attempt such a history through its several periods. Still every thing human must struggle with imperfection. How different are the two contemporaries, Walsh and Semler! Were the excellencies of both united in one man, what a day would at once open for the history of the church! In Walsh we have evidence of the most perfect view of the source of each event, of an exact and careful collection of materials even to the smallest fragment:—a prodigy of diligence! But we discover in him no capacity for surveying what is intrinsic, no strides of genius, no independent advances. Semler manifests a faithful use of original-sources, and a power of discovering such as are unknown; yet he is destitute of patience for the minute examination of all that deserves to be considered. But with his splendid genius, wherever he directed his clear and luminous view, the mists were dissipated and darkness vanished. The full light of day however he could not impart, for his view did not at once embrace all that was requisite.

[In the preceding portion of the life of Semler, as well as in that which was contained in our last number, there are some sentiments and opinions to which we do not assent. It will not be expected however, that the editor should publish and his friends translate nothing but what they altogether approve. There are views and opinions of some of the German divines, from which, as far as we are acquainted with them, we altogether dissent; and some speculations we have seen, from which

If the choice only were left us, we should be willing to retreat into the darkness and gloom of Geneva theology. Presumptuous and contrary to reason however, as we think the speculations of some among the German divines, yet to these divines in general the study of theology, especially in its branches of the criticism and interpretation of the New Testament, and of ecclesiastical history, has since the middle of the last century been very greatly indebted. Of the contemners of the German theologians we can only ask, if they are ignorant of the names, or have forgotten the country of Michaelis, and Griesbach, and Schleusner, to say nothing of the subject of the present biography.

The life of Semler is particularly valuable, as giving a general view of the present state of theological knowledge, and of what has occupied and is occupying the attention of the German divines. It is a sort of chart of what has been lately better explored, or newly discovered in the study of theology. It gives a view of the improvements that have been made in the objects of attention, and in the modes of inquiry; and furnishes us with some statement of the successful results of the investigations which have followed. Of these improvements Semler, as it respects Germany at least, seems to have been in a great degree the author and patron. No English reader of Michaelis can have forgotten the high respect with which Semler is repeatedly mentioned by his commentator.

Few theological students, we suppose, can fully estimate their obligations to the gentleman to whom we are indebted for the translation of this piece of biography. Of Eichhorn's Introduction to the Old Testament Professor Marsh observes, that it "has never been translated, and from the difficulties, both of the language and the subjects, cannot be understood by many English readers."^{*} The life of Semler is, as we have mentioned, probably by the same author, and some of its subjects must be equally difficult to make intelligible to the English reader. The remainder of this life will be given in our next number. *Ed.*

* Marsh's Lectures, P. 1. pp. 60, 61. Amer. ed.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

ANNOTATIONS ON MILTON'S PARADISE LOST.

—Τοι δε τυχοὶ τῆς γραφῆς καὶ τοῦ εὐρεῖν αἰδοῖς, την πυκνότητα καὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖ τε τοῦ ζωγράφου διάθεσιν, υπερβολλοῦντα μυαμένη καὶ φύλα.

Long: Frag.

The practice of adding a commentary even to the poetry of our own language has been known more than a century, and within the last thirty years it has become very common. It is not only one of the most frequent, but, if done in a proper spirit, one of the most pleasant labors of criticism. Its object, however, should not be to depreciate, but to honor the poet—not to show that he borrowed a thought, or an expression, but that he possessed the feelings as well as the mechanism of his profession, and that he understood and enjoyed the poetry of other ages and nations. Nor is this branch of criticism without its use. No man ever wrote with such a single eye to posterity, that he did not admit into his works many opinions purely personal, and many allusions to passing events and local circumstances. It is the province of the commentator, therefore, to show where the resentment or partiality of the individual triumphed over the inspiration of the poet, and to explain the circumstances under which he wrote, and the events which imparted their hue to his imagination or formed his taste. This is sometimes merely an act of justice; for who after the explanations of Warburton and Warton would search in Pope for the characters of Lady Montague, Lord Halifax, or Addison? At others the knowledge of an event in the author's life, or the discovery of a circumstance in itself trifling, gives a charm to the poetry, which it would not otherwise possess; for what part of the *Paradise Lost* is

more frequently read and admired than the introduction to the third book? And is not this because we know Milton was blind? Is the description of Adam less striking, because we suspect the poet intended to immortalize the fine proportions of his own person? or is the sketch of Eve less beautiful, because we imagine it was drawn by the affectionate vanity of a husband? We also owe much to the commentator for collecting from other authors the passages which were probably present to the mind of the poet, and thus enabling us to enter more intimately into his character, and in some measure to enjoy his feelings, by knowing the associations which produced them.

If we except Shakspeare, editorial research has probably done more for Milton, than for any other poet in our language. From the richness of his mind, and the unparalleled extent of his learning, which he is continually anxious to exhibit, his poetry is often so obscure, that it cannot be understood by one who is ignorant of the sources from which he drew his imagery and allusions. This difficulty was felt soon after the publication of *Paradise Lost*, and was probably one of the causes, which so long prevented it from being generally read.

The first attempt to elucidate Milton, and persuade the world of his supremacy in English poetry, was made in 1695, by Patrick Hume. In 1711—12 Addison made him the subject of general curiosity, by a critique on the *Paradise Lost*, which he published in a series of *Spectators*. During the twenty years which succeeded, Milton seems to have been unnoticed by the learned, and nearly forgotten by all. His great epic was indeed enrolled in the body of English poetry; but it was read by few, and, if we may judge from the mistaken opinions of Addison and Dryden, understood by none. At last Dr. Bentley fondly imagined that he was destined to be the Varius of Milton; but unfortunately for himself, he had no Augustus to control him. Amidst the solitude of his closet, and in the indolence of speculation, without advice or discretion, he prepared what he amused himself with calling

"Emendations of *Paradise Lost.*"*. But his fantastic conjectures and bold alterations were immediately answered by a multitude of opponents, and the contest was soon ended by the overthrow of the eristic. What Bentley lost, Milton gained. The circumstances of the dispute brought him into notice with that class of men, in whose hands are placed the destinies of literature, and made them anxious not only to rescue him from the attacks of Bentley, but to give him that rank in the public estimation, of which accident and political prejudice had defrauded him. And if it had produced no other effect than that of bringing into the list of his defenders and admirers a name so respectable as that of Dr. Pearce, Milton would have gained much. Immediately after Bentley had given the world his emendations, Dr. Pearce published† a review of them, which has always been considered a sufficient refutation of the positions Dr. Bentley endeavoured to establish, and of his practices under them. After this followed in rapid succession "Explanatory notes, by J. Richardson, father and son," 1734—"Remarks on Spence and Milton," by Dr. Jortin, 1734, and "Remarks on the three first books of *Paradise Lost.*" by Mr. Warburton, 1739. By selecting and combining the most valuable parts of all these publications, and adding to them his own remarks and those of his friends, Bishop Newton prepared a variorum edition of Milton in 1740, which has been the standard for text and commentary ever since.‡

The remarks which follow, together with many others, occurred during the frequent perusal of a copy printed from Toison's edition of 1711, without notes. On examining Bishop Newton's admirable commentary, a large proportion of the whole was found to have been anticipated and of the remainder a part is now selected.

I. "His spear, to equal which the tallest pine,

* Published in 1732.

† In 1732.

‡ Perhaps an exception should be made in favour of an edition of all Milton's poetry, lately Published by Dr. Todd; but we have seen only the last volume, containing a Life and an Index verborum.

Hewn on Norwegian hills to be the mast
 Of some great ammiral, were but a wand;
He walked with to support uneasy steps
 Over the burning marle." B. 1. l. 292.

The hint on which Milton has constructed this splendid passage may be found in Virgil's description of Polypheme's staff:

"Trunca manu pinnas regit et vestigia firmat." E. 3. l. 659.

II. Th' ascending pile
 Stood fixed *her* stately height." B. 1. l. 723.

This passage is so obscure and awkward that it is not unreasonable to suspect an error in the text. The pronoun *her* seems to be supernumerary, and to fill a place much better occupied by a word that could govern the succeeding noun. Would it not therefore be better to read "in stately height?"

III. "And wish and struggle as they pass to reach
 The tempting stream, with one small drop to lose
 In sweet forgetfulness all pain and wo,
 All in one moment and so near the brink;
 But fate withstands"—B. 2. l. 610.

The pause is here with admirable skill thrown after the fourth syllable, and gives the reader a very lively impression of the suddenness of the interruption. The same form of expression and the same artificial pause occur twice in Virgil.

"Nullis ille movetur
 Fletibus aut voces ullas tractabilis audit:
Fata obtant— E. 4. l. 440.

Quam vellent æthere in alto
 Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!
Fas obstat— E. 6. l. 438.

IV. O shame to men! devil with devil damn'd
 Firm concord holds; men only disagree
 Of creatures rational," &c. B. 2. l. 498.

The whole of this passage bears a striking resemblance to the conclusion of Juvenal's fifteenth satire.

Sed jam serpentum major concordia. Parcit
 Cognatis maculis similis fera. Quando leoni

Fortior eripuit vitam leo!—

Ast homini ferrum letale incude nefanda

Produxisse parum est.”—etc. l. 166.

V. “The barren plains

Of Sericana, where Chineses drive

With sails and wind their cany waggons light.” B. 3. l. 437.

This is a remarkable proof of Milton's universal knowledge and perhaps of his credulity. A curious book had been published by Heylin, one of his contemporaries, and from this he must have gathered the grounds for this improbable assertion. “In the southerne partes of China,” says Heylin, “it is so plaine and level and so unswelled with hills at all, that they have *cartes and coaches driven with sails.*” *Cosmographie*, Lib. 3. In one point however he differs from this authority. Seriea, according to Cellarius and Patrick, is the same country with the modern Cathay, which Milton has twice mentioned, (B. 10. l. 293, and B. 11. l. 388.) but which is one of the *northern provinces of China.*

VI. “And they who to be sure of Paradise

Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,

Or in Franciscan think to pass disgruis'd.” B. 3. l. 480.

It was by no means uncommon in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries for the most dissolute to request he might be carried to his grave in the humble disguise of a monk. The following extract from Dr. Jortin's life of Erasmus is probably the best note which can be offered on this singular passage. “Baldus in the year 1400, Christophorus Longolius in 1522, and Albertus Pius in 1530, were buried at their request in the habit of a cordelier. Marot in one of his poems hath ridiculed Albertus, *who, says he, turned monk after he was dead.*” Vol. ii. p. 16, where the curious reader will find some further instances and a few remarks on them by Dr. Jortin himself.

VII. “Far distant he descries

Ascending by degrees magnificent

Up to the wall of heaven,” &c. B. 3. l. 503.

Degrés, the French for stairs, is here naturalized in order

to give dignity and effect to the description. This is obvious from the next sentence, which begins—"The stairs," &c. as something, which had been before mentioned.

VIII. "His habit fit for speed *succinct*, and held
Before his decent steps a silver wand." B. 3. l. 643.

This is the only instance in which *succinct* occurs in *Paradise Lost*, and its meaning is doubtful and obscure. As the passage now stands it qualifies *speed* and bears a secondary signification. But we must trace it up to its original in order to find its proper interpretation. The words *præcinctus* or *subcinctus* and *discinctus* were originally applied by the Romans to the different modes in which they adjusted the *toga*, when they were active or idle, but phrases in such frequent use soon caught metaphorical meanings, which gradually became as definite and well established as the primary. In this way *discinctus* was made to signify *idle* or *debauched*, without any reference to its original import. Thus in Persius we find:—

"Non pudet ad morem *discincti* vivere Nattæ." Sat. 3. l. 31.

And in Ovid we have it freed from all its relations, and applied to idleness in the abstract:—

"Ipse ego segnis eram, *discinctaque* in *otia* natus." Amor. 9. 41.

In Quintilian, too, (Lib. 2. c. 2.) *proni atque succincti* are used to signify eager and *active*. In the last sense *succincti* must be used in the passage quoted above, if it agrees with "speed," but as *speed* necessarily implies activity, such a construction renders one of the words useless. This difficulty may be avoided by reading the line with a parenthesis and referring "succinet," to "habit."

"His habit (fit for speed) *succinct*," &c.

This brings us back to the Roman custom and the first signification of the word, which is the one Milton generally selects. The last reading may perhaps be preferred, not only on this account, but because it removes an objection which can

seldom be urged against Milton and gives more energy and distinctness to the description.*

IX. "Her countenance *triform*." B. 3. l. 730.

Alluding to the appearances of the moon as waxing, at the full, and waning. The epithet is from Horace. *Diva triformis.* 3 Od. 22. l. 4.

X. "O thou that with surpassing glory crown'd
Look'st from thy sole dominion like the God
Of this new world, at whose sight all the stars
Hide their diminished heads;" — B. 4. l. 35.

This resembles very nearly the opening of Ion's beautiful speech when he first appears on the scene.

"Αριστα μεν ταῦτα λαμπεῖσιν
'Ηλιος λαμπεῖ κατὰ γῆν,
Λογεῖ δὲ φυγεῖ πορεῖ τοῦ πέμπετος
Εἰς πυχόν οἴκων." Ion l. 86.

XL. "By thee at least
Divided empire with heaven's king I hold,
By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign," &c.

B. 4. l. 110.

Milton does not introduce such repetitions by accident. They are a part of the mechanism of his poetry and frequently give an energy to the thought which could be acquired in no other way. Strength, or as it has been admirably called by Algarotti, *la gigantesca sublimata Miltoniana*, is his grand characteristic, and iteration is one of his favorite artifices to produce it. The two following instances may be safely pronounced unrivalled:

"Behold me then, *me* for him, *life* for *life*
I offer; on *me* let thine anger fall,
Account *me* man." B. 3. l. 236.

"On *me* exercise not
Thy hatred for this misery befallen;

* Since writing the above, the conjecture respecting the meaning of "succinct" has received some confirmation from a reference to Mariottini's translation of *Paradise Lost*. The passage in question is there rendered—"Breve ha la veste," p. 93. edit. Lond. 1796.

*On me already lost, me then thyself
More miserable! Both have sinn'd, but thou
Against God only, I against God and thee;
And to the place of judgment will return,
There with my cries importune heaven, that all
The sentence, from thy head remov'd, may light
On me, sole cause to thee of all this woe,
Me, me only just object of his ire." B. 10. l. 936.*

But he has not always been so fortunate. *Est ubi peccat.* The failings of Milton are not, however, the failings of a common mind. The tide is not always at its flood; but it never recedes without leaving impressions of the height to which it once rose.* In B. 4. l. 775. B. 9. l. 178. and some other instances Milton has failed, but not without honor. The fascination of many of the ancient poets, particularly Anacreon, depends much on the frequent and judicious use of the artifice which Milton manages with such skill.

Δι' ἦν οὐ Μάθη λογίσθε,
Δι' ὅτι οὐ Χαρίς επεχθε,
Δι' ὅτι φρεπαντεῖται Λυτός,
Δι' ὅτι τυπάζεται Αἴτιος.

Ode 41.

Ιψ' ὅταν ταρπωτος βοτέριν,
Αἰσχος μεμνος πάντες,
Αἰσχος δύμας θητος,
Αἰσχος γλυκυκυν τι θυμον, κ. τ. λ. Ode 50.

The charm of these passages evidently consists in the repetition at the beginning of each line. Virgil, too, was not ignorant of this grace, (Geo: 4. l. 466.) and Milton, when he dictated the passages just cited, perhaps remembered the passionate exclamation of Nisus in the fine episode to the ninth book of the *Aeneid*.

"*Me, me; adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum,
O Rutuli, mea fraus omnis, etc.*" l. 427.

And the intercession of the mother of Euryalus:

* Longinus de Sub: sec. 9.

"*Figite me, si qua est pietas, in me omnia tolle.
Conjicio, O Rutuli, me primum absumite ferro.*" L. 494.

XII. "So clomb this first grand thief *into God's fold*
So since into his church lewd hirelings *climb.*" B. 4. l. 193.

Milton's bitterness against the regular clergy, and the eagerness with which he obtrudes it on all occasions, render his motives a little suspicious. The Episcopalian were always the objects of his abuse. He marks them in *Lycidas* under the opprobrious description of

"Such as for their bellies' sake
Creep and intrude and *climb into the fold.*" L. 115.

But when Episcopacy was humbled, he did not find himself better satisfied with Presbyterianism, for in a sonnet addressed to Cromwell, he says,

"Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves whose gospel is their maw." Son. 16.

The passage in *Par. Lost* seems to be a happy concentration of the gall of both the others.

XIII. "While *universal Pan*
Knit with the graces and the hours in dance
Led on th' eternal spring." B. 4. l. 266.

Milton had lived too long in the land of conceits and mythology, to be entirely free from affectation and false taste. From the Italians he learned to introduce heathen deities into Christian poetry. Spencer had done it before, and Dryden has imitated him in a single instance. In "May" Spencer says,

"For *Pan* himself was their inheritance."

And in "July,"

"The brethren twelve that kept yfere
The flocks of mighty *Pan.*"

There is a mysterious force in this name, which certainly induces us to pass it by with less censure than that of almost any other heathen deity thus introduced; yet in truth Milton

cannot be defended any more than Dante, who calls God Jupiter.

"O sommo Giove

Que fosti 'n terra per noi crucifisso." Purgat. c. 6. l. 118.

Gross and absurd as this may seem to us, Pulci thought it was worth borrowing:—

"O giusto, O santo, O eterno Monarca,

O sommo Giove per noi crucifisso." Morg. Mag. c. 2. l. 1.

The lines above cited contain a combination of several of Milton's favorite phrases. We have "universal nature," Lyc. 60. "While the jolly hours lead on propitious May," Son. 4. "Eternal summer." Com. 988.

There is, however, a difficulty in the passage. All the verbs except *led* are in the present tense. Should we not therefore in order to preserve the action unbroken and to save the concord of the sentence, read, as in sonnet i. "Leads on," &c.

XIV. "So hand in hand they passed, the loveliest pair
That ever since in love's embraces met,
Adam the goodliest man of men since born
Hie sono, the fairest of her daughters Eve." B. 4. l. 394.

This passage has always been the crux criticorum. Addison, and Bentley, and Campbell, have successively decided that it is indefensible, and contains a contradiction in terms. It is very certain, however, that it is a form of expression, which was not unknown to the Greeks and Romans, and was in fact used by them, when they intended to make a very bold comparison. Milton is said* to have discovered the art of expressing one degree higher than the superlative, and the lines now before us show that he could also express a second comparative, or a degree more strong than the usual comparative, yet lower than the superlative. The last, however, was not original in him. Two instances occur in Virgil:

"Ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnes
Infat se socium Aeneas, atque agmina jungit." A. E. 141.

The other is an application of the same phrase to Tur.

* Prof. Adams, Lect. 24.

nus, 7. *Æ.* 54. In Cicero this singular expression is still more strongly marked. “*Hoc tu scriptore, hoc consiliarie, hoc ministro, omnium non bipedium solum sed etiam quadrupedum impurissimo, rempublicam perdidisti.*” Pro Domo § 18. The most striking and decisive instance, however, is in the LXX version of the 2 Maccabees, 7 chap. l. 41. “*Ἐγένετο τελευτὴ μητέρων ἡ παῖς τῶν τελευτῶν*” “The mother died *the last of her sons.*” In king James' translation it is rendered, “last of all, after the sons, the mother died.” There can be no doubt, after these citations, that the form of expression may be supported by sufficient authorities; but it is another question, whether the example of Milton should be suffered to acquire the force of a rule. In most instances it should, but as he stands alone in this bold imitation of antiquity, and as it is determined by general consent that he has offended against the English idiom, it will be more safe to understand and defend, than to admire or follow him.

XV. “All but the wakeful nightingale;
She all night long, her amorous descent sung.” B. 4. l. 603.

He probably remembered a passage from one of Petrarch's pieces in honor of the Colonna family.

“*E 'l resignuol, que dolcemente all' ombra
Tutte le notti si lamenta, e piange,
D' amorei pensieri il cor ne 'ngombra.*” Parte i. son. 10. l. 11.

XVI. “Here Love his golden shafts employs.” B. 4. l. 763.

Alluding to the two kinds of arrows used by Cupid:

“*Fugat hoc, facit illud amorem;
Quod facit auratum est et cuspidé fulget acuta:
Quod fugat obtusum est et habet sub arundine plumbum.*”
Met. Lib. i. l. 471.

XVII. “No veil
She needed, virtue-proof.” B. v. l. 384.

By analogy this should mean *impenetrable by virtue*, for that is the power of *proof*, when used in composition with a substantive, as in the common phrases, “bullet-proof,” “fire-

proof," &c. Milton has applied it in one other case, but there he conforms to the custom.

" Under the shady roof
Of branching elm, star-proof." Arcad. 2d. song.

It is not easy to conjecture the precise meaning of the first passage.

XVIII. " Whatever earth, *all bearing mother*, yields." B. 5. l. 388.

The same epithet occurs in his fifth Elegy, where, in describing *Tellus*, he says:

" Quid enim formosius illis
Pandit ut *omniferoe* luxuriosa sinus." l. 58.

XIX. *Remorse* occurs six times in Paradise Lost, and in five of them it undoubtedly has the old and forgotten but exquisite meaning of *sympathy*, or *tender regret*. Thus when Raphael asks:

" How shall I relate
Without *remorse*
The ruine of so many, glorious once, &c." B. 5. l. 564.

And when Michael is commanded to execute the sentence on man:

" Haste thee, and from the Paradise of God,
Without *remorse*, drive out the sinful pair." B. 11. l. 105.

The other instances are in B. 1. l. 605—B. 4. l. 109—and B. 5. l. 134. Its signification is doubtful or different only in B. 10. l. 1098. Shakspeare always uses it as Milton does. Thus Buckingham says to Gloucester in the course of the solemn farce practised on the Mayor, &c.

" Well we know your tenderness of heart
And gentle, kind, effeminate *remorse*." Rich. 3. Act. 3. sc. 7.

In Othello, act 3, sc. 3, it is made to express a generous motive for crime.

XX. " They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet,
Quaff immortality and *joy*." B. 5. l. 632.

He has something very similar in one of his epitaphs.

"Aetherios haerit latices et gaudia potat
Ore sacro." Epit: Damon. l. 206.

XXI. Abdiel, repeating the argument of Satan in order to refute it says:

"Unjust, thou say'st,
Flatly unjust, to bind with laws the free,
And equal over equals to let reign,
One over all with unconceded power" B. 5. l. 821.

Satan, as the ground of his argument, declares, that a "monarchy" has been "assumed" over those who were "ordained to govern, not to serve," and that they ought not to acknowledge an authority which they had not granted. If, therefore, Abdiel reports Satan fairly, we should perhaps read,

"One over all with unconceded power."

XXII. The armies of God having commenced their march against the rebellious angels proceeded long without opposition until

"At last,
Far in th' horizon to the North appear'd
From skirt to skirt a fiery *region*, stretched
In battalious aspect," &c. B. 6. l. 81.

'This *region* was no other, than

"The banded powers of satan hastening on,
With furious expedition."

In fact, the two words *region* and *powers* are in strict apposition. Should we not, then, substitute *legion*?

XXIII. "And thus his own undaunted heart explores." B. 6. l. 113.

This line is succeeded by the vehement invective of Abdiel. It is without meaning, unless we make it synonymous with *exhibit*, for which we have the authority of Stephanus. *Explorare antiqui pro exhibere usi sunt.*

XXIV. "They shall fear we have disarm'd
The thunderer of his only dreaded bolt." B. 6. l. 490.

He had before applied this singular idea to the inventor of bombs.

"*Qui lurida creditur arma
Et tristum fulmen surripuisse Jovi;*" Epig. 6. l. 4.

XXV. "Whence Adam soon repealed
The doubts that in his heart arose." B. 7. l. 59.

It is hard to believe that a phrase so inelegant, as "to repeal a doubt," should be charged to Milton. *Repelled* is the easiest change, and seems probable, for in the same book we have "repelled their counsels," l. 610, and in B. 8. l. 642, "repel temptation."

XXVI. The Thracian bard
In Rhodope, where woods and rocks had ears, &c. B. 7. l. 35.

So in his lines Ad Patrem, but somewhat quaintly from the force of "addidit."

"*Sylvestres decet iste choros, non Orpheus cantus,
Qui tenuit fluvios et querens addidit aures;*" l. 53.

XXVII. "Meanwhile inhabit lax, ye powers of heaven?" B. L. 162.

A Latinism. *Habitate laxè et magnificè voluit, duasque magnas et nobiles domos conjungere.* Cie. pro Dom. 44.

XXVIII. "Earth in her rich attire
Consummate lovely smiled." B. 7. l. 502.

As it now stands *consummate* is used adverbially, and qualifies *lovely*. If a pause be placed between them, so as to attract *consummate* to *earth*, the passage will have a more poetical meaning.

XXIX. "Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid." B. 8. l. 167.

Solicit is here synonymous with disturb or disquiet. As in Virg. AE. 7. l. 80, we have Rex solicitus monstris, the king anxious on account of the prodigies; and in Horace Lib. 3. Od. 1. l. 26, sollicitat mare, disturbs the sea. Dryden in imitation of Milton says:

"And anxious fears solicit my weak breast."

XXX. "Or cold
Climate or years damp my intended wing." B. 9. l. 44.

This is one of Milton's cherished prejudices. He complained of the climate of his country when he was in Italy in

no very patriotic style. Speaking of himself he begs the famous Manso not to undervalue his muse, though she had been starved by the frosts of the pole:

“ Nec tu longinquam bonus aspernabere Musam,
Quz nuper gelida eix iustrita sub Arcto
Imprudens Italas ausa est volitare per urbes.” L. 29.

XXXI. ———“ Fit vessel, fittest *imp* of fraud.” B. 9. L. 89.

“ Fittest stock,” says Hume, “ to graft his devilish fraud upon. *Imp*, of the Saxon *impan*—to put into, to graft upon.” The commentator was not perhaps aware that Spence had made a verb of it and used it in the same way.

“ The headlesse tyrant's tronke, he rear'd from grounde
And having *ymp* the head to it agayne.” F. Queen, B. 4. c. 9. st. 4.

XXXII. “ Where highest woods *impenetrable*
To star or sun light,” &c. B. 9. l. 1082.

From Statius:

“ Nulli penetrabilis astro
Lucus iners.” Theb. L. 10. l. 86.

XXXIII. “ I shall not lag behind, nor err
The way, thou leading.” B. 10. l. 266.

“ This,” as Newton observes, “ is a remarkable expression;” but it will lose its singularity, which is all it now has to recommend it, if the two commas be expunged, and the pause placed at the end of the line.

XXXIV. “ With joy
And tidings fraught, to hell he now return'd.” B. 10. l. 346.

Meaning simply, *with joyful tidings*, like φιλοτητα και εργα
νετα (3. II. l. 94.) for the solemn vows of friendship.

XXXV. “ To me, who with eternal famine pine,
Alike is hell, or paradise, or heaven;
There best, where most with ravin I may meet;
Where here, though plenteous, all too little seems.” B. 10. l. 600.

There can be little doubt but *which* should be substituted for *where*.

XXXVI. “ A long day's dying to augment our pain,

And to our seed (O hapless seed!) deriv'd. B. 10. l. 965.

And in another place:

"That I may mitigate their doom
On me deriv'd." B. 10. l. 77.

Derive in this sense is best defined by Donatus. "Derivatio dicitur inflexio criminis ab eo ad quem pertinebat, ad eum ad quem non pertinet." It is thus used by Terence:

— "Quid vis? nisi uti maneat Pharium; atque ex criminis hoc
Antiphonem eripiam, atque in me omnem iram *dericem* senis?"

Phorm: Ac: 2. sc. 1. l. 9.

XXXVII. In that glowing description of the descent of Michael, which Addison* has so happily praised and illustrated, we have the following inquiry from Adam, who had observed the sudden eclipse of the rising sun, and now saw indistinctly the band of angels descending in the West through the preternatural darkness:

"Why in the east
Darkness ere day's mid-course, and morning light
More orient in yon Western cloud, that draws
O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
And slow descends with something heavenly fraught?"

B. 11. l. 207.

Orient, in this sentence, must have either its primary signification, *rising*, or its secondary one, *eastern*. In each case, it is absurd to give it the force of a comparative. *More*, therefore, may be presumed to be a bad reading, and the series of events described will probably lead us to the word dictated by Milton. "Morning light" had suddenly disappeared, and before Adam could recover from his astonishment at this miraculous phenomenon he witnessed another in the appearance of a mild light in the opposite quarter of the heaven, which

* Addison, when citing this passage, says, "The whole *theatre* of nature is *darkened*, that this *glorious machine* may appear with all its lustre and magnificence." Spec. 363. "I must confess," says Melmoth, "I am at a loss which to admire most upon this occasion, the poet or the critic." Fitzos. Let. 24.

he at first mistook for another dawn. His first impression therefore was that among the dreadful revolutions occasioned by the fall, and before described,* the course of the sun was about to be changed, and that he was thereafter to rise in the West. Should we not then read:

“ And morning light
Made orient in yon Western cloud?” &c.

XXXVIII. “ Man is not whom to warn.” B. 11. l. 777.

This is a remarkable instance of what the Messieurs de Port Royal call “ the preceding and following case both understood.” It is probably an elegant form of expression in Latin, for it is found twice in the first Ode of Horace; but it does not harmonize with the English idiom.

“ Sunt quae curriculo,” etc. l. 3.

“ Est qui nec veteris pocula Massici
Spernit.” l. 19.

XXXIX. “ And the clear sun on his wide wat’ry glass
Gas’d hot, and of the fresh wave largely drew.” B. 11. l. 845.

This singular use of *gaze* is taken from Shakespeare:

“ At length the sun gazing upon the earth,
Dispers’d those vapours that offended us.”

Com. of Errors. Act. 1. sc. 1.

XL.

“ A comrous train

“ Of flocks and herds and numerous servitude.” B. 12. l. 132.

“ The abstract for the concrete,” a mode of speech very common with the Roman prose writers. “ *Solicitantur Allehrogos—servitia excitantur.*” 4. cont. Cat. sec. 2. “ *Hie ad eventanda fundamenta reipublieæ, Gallos arcessivit—servitia conitavit—Catalinam evocavit.*” Ib. sec. 6.

XLI. He ceas’d, discerning Adam with such joy
Surcharg’d as had like grief been dew’d in tears
Without the vent of words, which *these* he breath’d.

B. 12. l. 374.

Then follows Adam’s exclamation. Would it not be better to read—“ which *thus* he breath’d?”

* In B. x. l. 650—715.

XLII. In the twelfth book the angel prophesies to Adam, and accompanies each prediction with an exhibition of that part of the earth in which it is to be accomplished. From this it seems that although Milton had independence enough to reject the orthodox mysticism of the Canticles,* yet he had implicit faith enough to receive the literal interpretation of Matthew 4. l. 1—11. He has, however, managed his machinery pretty adroitly. In B. 11. l. 406, he avoids by a very ingenious contrivance, the manifest absurdity of seeing two hemispheres *εν γῇ καὶ οὐρανῷ*, in the same instant of time, but still he supposes throughout both the last books, that Adam and the angel, standing on the “mount of Paradise,” could see at least *one* half of the globe with their natural organs of vision, and “perhaps, in spirit,” the other. As a point of biblical criticism, we hope this question has been put at rest by Farmer, and Cappe, and Jones, and it would be well if the practical application of it as a branch of poetical prerogative could be restrained to more narrow limits. If no other reason could be given, the ridiculous confusion it has introduced into modern poetry would alone be sufficient. Nothing can be more absurd than the visions in Ariosto, (Orl: Fur: cant: 33.) in Camoens (Luis: cant: 5 and 10.) and even in Tasso (Gier: Lib: cant: 17.) They all seem to have taken their model from the sixth *Aeneid*; but have fallen into innumerable extravagancies, in which, no doubt, they imagined themselves to be warranted by the third temptation in the wilderness.

The preceding remarks may, perhaps, afford some elucidation of Milton's phraseology, and contain a few parallel passages which have not been before collated. It is not probable, that all the alterations in the text will be deemed just and necessary, or that all the resemblances will be acknowl-

* When comparing Eden to all the famous gardens recorded in history, he takes some pains to say that he has not embraced the popular creed respecting Solomon's:

“ Or that *not* mystick, where the sapient king
Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian spouse.” B. 9. l. 443.

Fas est et ab hoste doceri.

edged to have been intentional imitations; but it is presumed most of them will awaken, if they do not satisfy curiosity.

The commentators on Milton have done much; but they have also left much for their successors. In many passages the meaning is still doubtful or unknown, and in others, where the meaning is obvious, the form of expression is so singular and mystical, that it is but justice to presume they contain a classical allusion, which has not yet been detected. After all it seems probable that many years will elapse before the means of thoroughly understanding the *Paradise Lost* will be furnished, and that, with every facility and inducement which learning can offer, it will continue to be a book, which all will admire, but few understand.

N. Q.

To the Editor of the General Repository.

SIR,

The following article was published at Paris a few years ago, and I do not recollect having seen it in any publication in the English language. If you think it will be interesting to your readers (to whom, I trust, nothing relative to literature can be wholly destitute of interest) it will afford me a degree of gratification which will fully repay the trouble of translating it.

A correspondent.

TRANSLATION.

“*Notice des Ouvrages élémentaires manuscrits, sur la langue Chinoise, que possède la Bibliothèque Nationale; par L. Langlès, conservateur des manuscrits Orientaux;*” or,
Notices of the Manuscript elementary works on the Chinese language, which belong to the National Library [at Paris]; by L. Langlès, keeper of the ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS.
[Paris, about 1800, pp. 13.]

Some of these elementary works form a part of the invaluable additions made to the National Library within ten years past; the rest of them were formerly placed among the other Chinese books in the library: But I have thought it best to

arrange them all in one series, and to form of the whole what is commonly called a *class* or *department* [*fonds*,] which, though in fact small, will be useful to those persons who are desirous of studying the Chinese language.

PART I.

Chinese Dictionaries, interpreted in the languages of Europe.

No. 1.

DICTIONARIUM SINICO-LATINUM.

*Reverendissimi patris Basiliæ à Glemona Itali, missionarii sa-
crae Congregationis de propagandâ fide, nec non vicarii
apostolici provinciæ Xensinensis, cum indice copioso, char-
acteribus inveniendis accommodato, eorumque Sinicis Ele-
mentis, ac linearum varie componentium elenco. His acces-
sere Sinensium antithetorum, particularum numeralium,
vocum quibus additur particula *Tà*, atque cognominum
accuratae collectiones, cum Cyclo Sinico.*

{ Constantia
 et
 Labore. }

CANTONE.

Anno Domini MDCCXXVI.

This is a folio manuscript of six hundred and seventy three pages, on European paper. It is a part of the splendid collection of manuscripts with which our victories in Italy have enriched the national library. It was taken from the *Vatican* library, where it was marked No. 371; and it is not one of the least valuable we have obtained, as will appear from the following account of it, which I have thought best to give somewhat at large. It is composed on the authority of ten Chinese authors, whose names are given immediately after the title of the work. The following is an analysis of the different parts of the volume.

1. A *Latin dissertation* of eleven pages, to facilitate the use of the *Dictionary*.
2. The *Dictionary*.—This is written with all the method

and distinctness that could be desired. It contains five hundred and six pages, each of which is divided into four columns; the two narrowest of these contain the Chinese characters, and the other two, the corresponding sounds of those characters, expressed as accurately as possible, in Roman letters, with the meaning of each word and its derivatives. The letters which express the Chinese sounds have marks over them, which are explained in the preceding dissertation.

3. Next to this is a small treatise, which, properly speaking, is no more than a table, in which are designated certain strokes of the letters.—It is entitled, *Lateralium Tractuum penicelli index*, and contains three pages.

4. The next one hundred and four pages contain a very extensive analytical table entitled, *Divisionum vel Dispositio-
num tractuum penicelli accuratus liber vel repertorium*. This contains the series of Chinese characters, from the elementary strokes to the most complicated. The power of each Chinese character is expressed in Roman letters by its side.

5. Another table of the same kind, which contains only twelve pages, and is entitled, *Literarum tractuum penicelli generale repertorium*.

6. A collection entitled, *Index oppositarum literarum*, in which are placed together words of opposite or contrary significations, such as sweet, bitter; handsome, ugly; heaven, earth, &c. This collection consists of twenty pages. The four next pages contain another collection entitled, *Numerale variarum rerum*; this is an index designed to facilitate looking words in the *Dictionary*.

7. A treatise on the mode of computing the Chinese years.—*Modus enumerandi annos mores Sinico*, (4 pages.)

8. A treatise on the powers of the letter *Ta*: *Haec litera Ta conjungi debet verbis inferioribus*; and it contains in fact the series of verbs which are capable of receiving this letter *Ta*. (6 pages.)

9. The next article is the nomenclature entitled—*Imperato-
ris compositio centum familiarum cognomina continens*, which occupies the last seven pages of this valuable manuscript.

N. B. A notice in the hand-writing of Giuseppe Cerrù informs us, that this copy was to have been used in printing the Dictionary.—This learned man had engaged to superintend that important undertaking, which unfortunately never was carried into effect.

No. 2.

DICTIONARIUM SINICO-LATINUM.

A small manuscript in 4to, of eight hundred pages, Chinese paper. This Dictionary is in reality the same with No. 1; and before I had read the Italian note of Giuseppe Cerrù, I was of opinion that it was copied from that, which is one that come from the French missionaries.—The leaves, which are worn, prove that it has often been resorted to.

In order to facilitate the looking of Chinese words, the work is arranged according to the order of the *French* alphabet, and on the top of each page are written the sounds corresponding to the signs contained in it. It should be remarked that the series of those words whose first letter is a Z, is at the end of *Dictionary No. 1*, whereas it is at the beginning of this one, which expresses the sound of that letter by *tza*; so that the first word of this manuscript, No. 2, corresponds to page 452 of the other (No. 1.) and the first word of that corresponds to page 89 of No. 2. With the exception of this transposition the number and order of the words are exactly the same in both works.

No. 3.

A manuscript, in folio, on Chinese paper, and from fifteen to eighteen lines in thickness. This is also a *Chinese-Latin Dictionary*, arranged in the same manner as the preceding, but incomplete; many of the characters have no explanations, but they are perfectly well formed. This manuscript may not be without its use.

No. 4.

A folio manuscript of two hundred and seventy leaves, of

Chinese paper. This is a *Chinese-Latin-Spanish Dictionary*. Each page is divided into ten perpendicular columns, which are subdivided into three parts, which have at their commencement a Chinese character, the explanation of which in Latin and Spanish occupies the remainder of the spaces. The Chinese characters are of a large size, and were made by a very skilful hand. The pronunciation is at the top of the columns. This Dictionary, like Nos. 1 and 2, is followed by a very copious index to facilitate the knowledge of the keys, and the searching for the characters.

No. 5.

A small manuscript in 4to, of four hundred and twenty two pages, Chinese paper. This is a small *Chinese-Spanish Dictionary*. Each page is divided into four columns. The two narrowest contain the Chinese characters, and occasionally the pronunciation, with the meaning in Spanish. It is very imperfect.

No. 6.

A small manuscript in 4to, of five hundred and twelve pages, Chinese paper. This is a *Chinese-Spanish Dictionary*. Each page is divided into six columns, each of which is cut by transverse lines forming squares, part of which contain the Chinese characters, and the others the pronunciation, with short explanations in Spanish.

No. 7.

DICCIONARIO DE LENGUA MANDARINA.

Cuyo primer author fue el R. P. Fr. Francisco Diaz, religioso Dominico, annadido despues por los R. R. P. P. de la mission de Sancto Domingo.—Trasladado, emendadas algunas tonadas conforme à los Diccionarios Chinicos, puestas algumas letras en las tonadas de otras conforme a los Diccionarios dichos, y annadidas mas tonadas y letras, todo segun los Diccionarios Chinicos por Fr. Antonio Diaz:—or, Dictionary of the Mandarin language, originally composed by the reverend Father Francis Diaz, of the Dominican order, and enlarged by the rever-

end Fathers of the same mission of St. Dominick; translated and corrected in the tones, agreeably to the Chinese dictionaries, and enriched with many more letters and tones according to the same dictionaries. This is a small 4to of one hundred and ninety eight leaves, Chinese paper. It contains a Spanish dissertation on the five tones of the Chinese language, and the manner of representing them which was generally adopted by the missionaries.

Nos. 8. a. b. c.

Three volumes in small folio, bound in the Chinese manner, and written on Chinese paper. The first may contain about one hundred sheets, the second, eighty, and the third, forty. They form a *Chinese-French Dictionary*, written with care and clearness. Each page has the Chinese in two perpendicular columns, with the sounds by the side—many of the characters remain without any interpretation.

PART II.

Dictionaries of European Languages interpreted in Chinese.

No. 9.

DICTIONARIUM LATINO SINICUM—a folio manuscript, from three and an half to four inches thick, written on very thin Chinese paper. This is a *Latin-Chinese Dictionary*, very complete, and written with the greatest regularity. The characters are done by a very skilful hand. Each page is divided into two columns, which are subdivided into ten horizontal bands, or strips. The bands on the left hand contain the Latin, explained in Chinese, which is placed in the corresponding bands on the right hand. In many instances the explanation of a word is accompanied by several phrases or examples, the better to show the meaning of it. It is to be regretted that the Chinese pronunciation is not given.

Nos. 10. a. b.

DICTIONARIUM LATINO-SINICUM. Two folio volumes on Chinese paper, from two and an half to three inches thick. This is a duplicate of the dictionary just mentioned, and it is transcribed with so great exactness, that it would be taken for a copy *traced* from it. The paper however is inferior, and the characters are drawn with less neatness than in the other manuscript. It is a subject of regret, that from excessive modesty the missionaries, to whom we are indebted for these useful and laborious works, have withheld their names from our grateful remembrance.

No. 11.

A folio manuscript, two inches thick, on Chinese paper. This is a *French Chinese Dictionary*, or rather, only the elements of a Dictionary; for the greatest part of the words are without any explanations, and the Chinese, moreover, is written in Latin letters only.

No. 12.

A manuscript in 4to, three and a half inches thick, on Chinese paper. This, like the foregoing, is no more than a sketch of a Dictionary.

No. 13. a.

A manuscript in 4to, about an inch thick, on Chinese paper. This is a collection of Chinese phrases translated into French. Each page is divided into eight horizontal bands, or strips, and has in the margin in large characters, the Chinese signs, which are used in the different Chinese phrases, and by the side of these there is a French translation.

No. 13. b.

A manuscript in 4to, about four inches thick, on Chinese paper. This manuscript is the reverse of the foregoing; containing the French phrases explained in Chinese, and arranged according to the alphabetical order of the principal words.

in each phrase. This volume, though bulky, contains but little; the greater part of the pages being blank.

I should also mention DICTIONARIUM LATINO-SINICO-TATARICUM, in three volumes folio, which I have arranged as No. 1. of the Mantchou-Tartar works in the national library.* I shall not repeat the details I have already given respecting this work, and upon the utility of the Mantchou language,† in the fifth volume of *Notices and Extracts of manuscripts in the national library*, pages 581—606. I shall only observe that all the Latin words and examples of this Dictionary are translated both into Chinese and Mantchou. The characters, though small, are drawn with great perfection, but it is to be regretted that they are not accompanied by the pronunciation in Roman letters.

We have also in the national library several very extensive and voluminous *Chinese-Mantchou* Dictionaries, drawn up by the tribunal established at the Emperor's Palace in Pekin. Great benefit might be derived from these works by

*. Of these works I have made a separate class [fonds] which never had been done before in the national library, and which is not known in any library in Europe, unless it may be the case at the imperial library of St. Petersburgh. This *class* or collection now consists of more than eighty *Tao's*, or envelopes, which contain the same number of works, either originals or translations, from the *Chinese* into the *Mantchou*, relative to the geography, history, and philosophy of the two nations. See the first part of my *Notices of Mantchou works in the National Library* in the fifth volume of *Notices and Extracts of Manuscripts*.

†. According to the positive testimony of the best informed missionaries, such as the venerable Amyot "there is no good *Chinese* work which is not translated into the *Mantchou-Tartar* language." This last language has an alphabet and rules which are very simple. The difficulties in it are not to be compared with those of the hieroglyphic language of the Chinese, as I think I have demonstrated in my *Dissertation on the Mantchou alphabet*, which is placed at the beginning of the *Mantchou-French Dictionary*, which I published in 3 vols. in 4to, printed by Cte. Didot, editor, in 1787—1790.

means of the Manchotian language, with which it would be easy to become familiar.

In this new class we naturally place the immense work of the learned *Fourmont* on the Chinese language. This work is contained in thirty port-folios, of a large folio size and very thick. The materials for his *Dictionary* fill eighteen or twenty of these enormous port-folios. This learned man had also procured to be engraved on pear-tree wood, at the expense of government, above fifty thousand Chinese characters for his great *Dictionary*. Some of them were used in printing his *Grammatica Sinica*, his *Meditationes Sinicæ*, and the *Liste du Empereurs de la Chine*, which is at the end of the second volume of his *Reflexions critiques sur les histoires des anciens peuples*. The rest of them, and by far the greater part, still remain attached to the little strips of wood on which they were engraved; a slight saw-scarf in the wood marks the divisions. Care was also taken to write over each character, its power and its number.

This collection of Chinese types, which is literally the only one in Europe, was deposited in the national library about fifty years ago, and is in perfect preservation.

L. LANGLES.

ANALECTA.

Scaligerana.

THE two Scaligers, father and son, are well known as two of the most learned men of their time. The father, Julius Cæsar, was born in the territory of Verona, toward the close of the fifteenth century. He early entered on a military life; which he did not abandon for that of a scholar until the age of forty. The son Joseph was born at Agen in France, about the middle of the sixteenth century; and was a scholar from his youth. In religion he was a protestant. He died about

the age of seventy, at Leyden, where he had been for a few years professor of belles lettres. Notes of his conversation were preserved, and published after his death, with the title of Scaligerana. Of this work there are at least two editions, one at the Hague in 1666, and another, that we have before us, which professes to be a corrected edition, at Cologne in 1667.* The Scaligerana contain various notices of the learned men who were contemporary with Scaliger, of himself and his father, of his opinions, and of the state of society at the time when he lived. The work would be of service to the biographer or historian of that age. Of himself Scaliger tells us one anecdote respecting his wonderful power of exertion, which from any less authority might hardly appear credible. "I was afraid," he says, "I should not finish my edition of Eusebius. I grew old. I slept only three hours, lying down at ten, and rising at half-past one; I have not been able to sleep since." p. 227.

The apparently incredible instances of learned industry in the times which have gone by, an industry that we no more witness, may however be accounted for by the fact, that in the literary labor of those times the mind was often not very vigorously exercised. Then the labor of literary men was to acquire, to collect, and to arrange. Their work now is to originate, to invent, to reason, to make observations, and to draw inferences. Then literary men took rank more according to the learning which they possessed, now more according to the powers which they exercise. There is now more exertion in their studies, and of course they must be less protracted. It is possible that one may spend successive days and nights in preparing editions and writing commentaries, like Scaliger, or in compiling a lexicon like Castell, or in collating legal authorities like lord Hales; but all human powers would

* There is another work of the same kind, containing additional notes of his conversation, which was first published at Groningen in 1669 and afterwards at Cologne in 1695, called Scaligerana prima, as relating to an earlier part of his life than that first published. See Bayle's dictionary, Eng. ed.

fail long before one day of sixteen hours had been spent in composing the orations of Burke, or, to use a name less known, the essays of Foster.

But to return to the conversation of Scaliger, which is not without entertainment; as in the following account of his father, which concludes with rather an amusing specimen of his own vanity. “ My father was honored and respected by all these gentlemen of the court. He was more feared than loved at Agen. He had authority, majesty, and presence. He was terrible, and had such a voice that they all feared him. Auratus said, that Julius Cæsar Sealiger was like a king in appearance; yes like an emperor.—There never has been a king or an emperor who had a port like him. Look at me—I resemble him in every thing, especially in the aquiline nose.” p. 229.

I know myself, says Scaliger, in respect to three things, and no more—wine, poetry, and judgment of characters. If I have spoken with a man twice, I know directly what he is. p. 232.

Scaliger seems in his conversation to have used French or Latin words as they occurred; of which the original of the above may be an example.

*Je me connois en trois choses, non' in aliis, in vino, poesi,
et juger des personnes. Si bis hominem alloquar statim vero
qualis sit.*

In Bayle’s dictionary (Eng. ed.) it is said of Scaliger, that he would never receive any presents. Of himself however he says, “ I have been greatly indebted to the providence of God. Since my father’s death I have subsisted upon charity. (Ego ab obitu patris semper eleemosynis vixi.)” p. 232.

In one of the notes to the Scaligerana; it is mentioned by Puteanus, his printer, that he wrote so evenly that the first edition of his work *De emendatione temporum* was printed from his manuscript page for page. p. 234.

The complaint of the decay of learning has always been common. Those who complain of the degeneracy of the present age in this respect, may perhaps be disposed to compare

it with that of the Scaliger. But of his own time Scaliger says—"There are very few learned men. Now-a-days learning is little esteemed. There are none among the Jesuits, nor of our religion except Casaubon. An hundred years ago when printing was invented, there were more learned men than there are now.—Every body knows a little of every thing; there are no more any great men. At present nobody reads Aristotle, Cicero, Plato, but rather Ramus, or some other trifler, and they pretend to know every thing, and have read nothing." p. 65.

Of his contemporary Casaubon he speaks with uniform respect. What he said with regard to his notes on Persius is well known—that "the sauce was worth more than the fish." "La sause vaut mieux que le poisson." Speaking of him he says—"He and Lipsius are bent double with study. Casaubon is the most learned. I am his disciple. I have taste, but not learning. He is the greatest man that we have in Greek. I yield to him. He is the most learned man now alive. He knows much more than Lipsius." p. 45.

Of Bellarmin, a man very famous in his time as the most formidable defender of the Romish church, it was Scaliger's opinion, that he believed nothing of what he wrote, and was plainly an atheist. He says in another place, that all the Jesuits and ecclesiastics of high rank at Rome were atheists: giving this at the same time as the general character of the Italians. pp. 29, 126.

There are many things in the conversation of Scaliger, which illustrate the comparative barbarism of the times, when he lived. "I had," he says, "a brother Constans, who was called the Gaseon devil, he was so terrible. Once having engaged in playing ball with eight Germans, he killed some, wounded others, and fled into Poland. There he became a favorite with Stephen, king of Poland; but was cut off by the envy of his nobility, being stabbed in hunting." p. 283.

Scaliger relates the following anecdote of an Italian insult, which at least has claim to ingenuity. Cardinal Ferrari was

at the head of the French faction at Rome, and Cardinal Farnese of the Spanish. They had a mutual hatred, but treated each other externally with great respect. They were both about to have an entertainment at the same time, and the provider of each was in the market. There was a lamprey for sale, for which, as they are scarce at Rome, and as this was the first of the season, the enormous price of one hundred and twenty crowns was demanded. Cardinal Farnese was avaricious, and his steward refused to purchase it. It was bought for his rival, and carried home. When the latter was acquainted with the circumstances of its purchase, he sent it to his brother Cardinal, with a message, "that he had learnt that he was about to have an entertainment, and had no lamprey, and that he had sent him one as a present." p. 82.

Every one has heard of the "admirable Crichton," who, as his fame has been, excelled equally in intellectual acquirements, and bodily exercises, and who at the age of about 21 or 20, (for there is a dispute respecting it), was assassinated, for some unknown cause, in the streets of Mantua, by his pupil, the son of the Duke, as the story is related. He was at one time spoken of with blind admiration; but some Latin poems of his yet remain, which have been brought into view by modern research, and which have been almost as fatal to his fame, as was his slipper to that of Empedocles. They are said to have little merit, and to be faulty both in language and in prosody. He is thus mentioned by his contemporary Scaliger. "J'ai
have heard in Italy of one Crichton, a Scotishman, who was only twenty one years old, when he was killed by command of the Duke of Mantua, and who knew twelve languages, had read the Fathers and the Poets, disputed on every subject, and answered in verse. He had a marvellous genius, more worthy of admiration than esteem. He was somewhat of a silly fellow (*il étoit un peu fat*). His judgment was not equal to his other powers. Princes commonly favor such men, and not those who are truly learned. Manutius in his dedicatory preface to his paradoxes, which he has addressed to Crichton, makes mention of his genius."² p. 52.

Scaliger believed, like almost all the learned and vulgar of his time, in appearances of devils and in witchcraft. He makes a boast of not fearing the devil, who, as he affirmed, did not dare approach him. He says, "there are many sorcerers in Bearn and among the Pyrenees. They are very severely punished in Italy." "Persons must be very incredulous not to believe in their existence." (p. 242.) He tells the following story. "I saw near Biturige a black man on a black horse, standing in the middle of a marsh, and my horse followed him while I was dozing. Dabin and others were before me; I was behind, left alone; I called to the man, but he gave me no answer. My horse had already got into the marsh, and if I had not been active, I should have perished. I immediately got him out. Those who were before heard me. We had then been wandering about all night for seven hours: for Dabin sat out about eleven o'clock, and he observed that it was then near morning. It often happens that the devil draws men into marshes to destroy them. I believe that our getting out of our way beseems us on account of one of our party, who was continually using profane language."

Luther's belief on these subjects was at least as strong as that of Scaliger. In a curious book, (of which we may hereafter give some farther account,) containing records of his conversation, and called his *Colloquia Mensalia, or Table Talk*, there is a whole chapter on the Devil and his Works, in which several stories are quoted from his conversation, of the same character with that just given from Scaliger. One of the shortest is the following:

"Anno 1521, as I departed from Worms, said Luther, and not far from Eisenach was taken prisoner, I was lodged in the castle of Wartburg in Thuringia, in a chamber far from people, where none could have access unto me, but only two boys, that twice the day brought me meat and drink; now among other things they brought me hazel-nuts, which I put into a box, and sometimes I used to crack and eat of them. In the night times my gentleman the devil came and got the nuts out of the box, and cracked them against one of the bed-posts, making a very

great noise and a rumbling about my bed, but I regarded him nothing at all; when afterwards I began to slumber, then he kept such a racket and rumbling upon the chamber stairs, as if many empty hogsheads and barrels had been tumbled down; and although I knew that the stairs were strongly guarded with iron bars, so that no passage was either up or down, yet I arose and went towards the stairs to see what the matter was; but finding the door fast shut, I said, Art thou there? so be there still; I committed myself to Christ, my Lord and Saviour, of whom it is written, *Omnia subjecisti pedibus ejus*, and then laid me down to rest again."

From these "follies of the wise" we may learn something of the progress that has since been made in knowledge and correct thinking.

Dr. Parr's Character of Dr. Priestley.

In 1792 Dr. Parr published a pamphlet, entitled "A Letter from Irenopolis to the inhabitants of Eleutheropolis, or a Serious Address to the dissenters of Birmingham. By a member of the established church." From this letter is extracted the following passage, which contains a very eloquent character of Dr. Priestley. In the first sentence the author is speaking of the clergy of Birmingham.

"By sermons or controversial writings, they have bereaved you, it will be said, eventually of those precepts which you have been accustomed to hear, and of that example which you have been accustomed to admire, in a most venerable preacher, for whom it is no longer safe to preside over a flock, endeared to him by ancient habits of familiarity, and connected with him by many personal, many political, and many religious ties. Into the truth of this allegation, it were invidious and impertinent for me to inquire. But the scriptures, you will consider, still lie open to you. The house in which you did homage to your Creator will soon be rebuilt—The same freedom which you formerly enjoyed in opinion and in worship, is at this hour secured to you, by the laws; and though you cannot again obtain the honor and advantage

you derived from such an instructor as Dr. Priestley, your sect is hardly so barren of excellence, as not to supply you with a successor, whose talents, indeed, may be less flattering to your honest pride, but whose labors will not be less meritorious in discharging the duties of his clerical station, nor less instrumental in making all of you ‘wise unto salvation.’

“ I should not think well of your sensibility, if you were indifferent to the loss of so excellent a preacher as Dr. Priestley—But I shall think very ill of your moderation, if you make that loss a pretext for perpetuating disputes, which, if my arguments or my prayers could prevail, would speedily have an end.

“ Upon the theological disputes, in which the doctor has been engaged with some clergyman of your town, I forbear to give any opinion. Yet, while I disclaim all allusion to local events, I will make you a concession which you have my leave to apply to persons of higher rank as ecclesiastics, and of greater celebrity as scholars, than your town can supply—I confess with sorrow, that in too many instances, such modes of defence have been used against this formidable Heresiarch, as would hardly be justifiable in the support of revelation itself, against the arrogance of a Bolingbroke, the buffoonery of a Mandeville, and the levity of a Voltaire. But the cause of orthodoxy requires not such aids—The church of England approves them not—The spirit of Christianity warrants them not. Let Dr. Priestley, indeed be confuted, where he is mistaken. Let him be exposed where he is superficial. Let him be repressed where he is dogmatical. Let him be rebuked, where he is censorious. But let not his attainments be depreciated, because they are numerous almost without a parallel. Let not his talents be ridiculed, because they are superlatively great. Let not his morals be vilified, because they are correct without austerity, and exemplary without ostentation, because they present even to common observers, the innocence of a hermit, and the simplicity of a patriarch, and because a philosophic eye will at once discover in them, the *deep-fixed root of virtuous principle, and the solid trunk of virtuous habit.*”

POETRY.

[We have been favored with the manuscript of the following very beautiful pieces of Mrs. Barbauld and Miss Aikin, with the permission to publish them.]

ON THE KING'S ILLNESS—BY MRS. BARBAULD.

REST, rest, afflicted spirit, quickly pass
 Thine hour of bitter suffering. Rest await thee
 There where the load of weary life laid down,
 The peasant and the king repose together.
 Thus peaceful sleep; thy quiet grave bedewed
 With tears of those that loved thee. Not for thee
 In the dark chamber of the nether world,
 Shall spectre kings arise from burning thrones,
 And point the vacant seat, and scoffing say,
 'Art thou become like us?' Oh, not for thee!
 For thou hadst human feelings, and hast walked
 A man with man; and kindly charities,
 Even such as warm the cottage hearth, were thine;
 And therefore falls the tear from eyes not used
 To gaze on kings with admiration fond.
 And thou hast knelt at meek religion's shrine
 With no mock homage, and hast owned her rights,
 Sacred in every breast; and therefore rise
 Affectionate for thee, the orisons,
 And midnight prayer alike from vaulted domes,
 Whence the loud organ peals, and raftered roofs
 Of humbler worship: still remembering this,
 A nation's pity and a nation's love
 Linger beside thy couch, in this the day
 Of thy sad visitation, veiling faults
 Of erring judgment, and not will perverse.
 Yet oh! that thou hadst closed the wounds of war,
 That had been praise to suit a higher strain.
 Farewell! thy years roll down the gulph of time;
 Thy name has chronicled a long, bright page
 Of England's glory; and perhaps the babe,
 Who opens, as thou closest thine, his eye

On this eventful world, when aged grown,
 Musing on times gone by, shall sigh and say,
 Shaking his thin grey hairs, whitened with grief,
 ‘ Our fathers’ days were happy.’ Fare thee well,
 My thread of life has even run with thine
 For many a lustre, and thy closing day
 I contemplate, not mindless of my own,
 Nor to its call reluctant.

THE BALLOON—BY MISS AIKIN.

The airy ship at anchor rides;
 Proudly she heaves her painted sides,
 Impatient of delay;
 And now her silken form expands,
 She springs aloft, she bursts her bands,
 She floats upon her way.

How swift! for now I see her sail
 High mounted on the viewless gale,
 And speeding up the sky;
 And now a speck in ether tost,
 A moment seen, a moment lost,
 She cheats my dazzled eye.

Bright wonder! thee no flapping wing,
 No laboring oar, no bounding spring
 Urged on thy fleet career.
 By native buoyancy impelled,
 Thy easy flight was smoothly held,
 Along the silent sphere.

No curling mist at close of light,
 No meteor on the breast of night,
 No cloud at breezy dawn,
 No leaf adown the summer’s tide
 More effortless is seen to glide,
 Or shadow o’er the lawn.

Yet thee, even thee, the destined hour
 Shall summon from thy airy tour,
 Rapid in prone descent.
 Methinks I see thee downward borne,
 With flaccid sides that droop forlorn,
 Thy breath ethereal spent.

Thus daring fancy's plumes sublime,
 Thus love's bright wings are clipped by time;
 Thus hope, her soul elate
 Exhales amid this grosser air;
 Thus lightest hearts are bowed by care,
 And genius yields to fate.

For the Repository.

TO A CHILD.

STILL are wild fancy's flattering dreams believed?
 So fondly trusting, yet so oft deceived?
 Mysterious mistress of th' enthusiast's heart;
 His bliss, his pride—his chalice, and his smart!
 How hate thee, source whence purest pleasures flow?
 How love thee, poisoner of the shafts of woe?
 Thou faithless sorceress—thou bewitching fair;
 Thou child of hope—thou nursling of despair!
 Now the fierce lightning is thy Proteus form,
 Now the bright arch, that triumphs o'er the storm.
 Such, Fancy, is thy varied good and ill;
 Yet, dear enchantress, I must love the still.
 'Tis sweet to view, in childhood's earliest dawn,
 The first faint streaks that gild the rising morn.
 Thou wav'st thy wand—no more the veil appears,
 That hides from present gaze the future years;
 We snatch bright virtues from the days to come,
 And weave the laurels, that may never bloom.

Dear boy! I love to watch thine infant face,
 Ere time imprint the lines thy passions trace:
 By turns, I mark the gentle virtues speak,
 Play round thy mouth, and dimple on thy cheek;
 And read the spirit in thy sparkling eye,
 That scorns to flatter, and that fears to lie.
 Whate'er the fates that wait on thy career,
 We cannot know them, and we ought not fear:
 We cannot read them with prophetic eye;
 We cannot guess them from the days gone by.
 Fair are the hopes thine opening dawn inspires,
 And add new brilliancy to fancy's fires:
 Yet rude the storms that threat life's clearest sky,
 And hope smiles sweetest ere her visions die.

But oh! to thee be those kind feelings given,
 Whose fruit is virtue, whose reward is heaven:
 Thine be the glowing heart, the constant mind,
 " Obedient passions, and a will resigned."
 Oh, be in life all virtue's self can crave,
 And many a tear fall sweetly on thy grave!

From Smyth's English Lyrics.

TO CHEERFULNESS.

THE hunter on the mountain's brow,
 The rosy youth from study free,
 Ne'er breathed, O Cheerfulness, a vow
 More fond, than I have breathed to thee.
 Yet sometimes, if in lonely hour
 I quit thy loved, enchanting bower
 By glooms of wayward fancy driven;
 And from thee turn my languid eyes,
 Nor longer deem thy pleasure wise;
 Oh! be my suffering heart forgiven.

Not always can the varying mind
 Bear to thy shrine an homage true;
 Some chains mysterious seem to bind,
 Some sullen sorcery to subdue;
 Nor always can the scene be gay,
 Nor blest the morrow as to day;
 And musing thoughts will sadness bring:
 Can time so near me hourly fly,
 Nor I his passing form descry,
 Nor ever hear his rustling wing?

E'en now I feel with vain regret
 How soon these happy days must end;
 Already seems my sun to set,
 I mark the shades of eve descend;
 The vusto catch where sorrow grey
 And weary pain are on their way;
 Beyond, with startled glance I see
 The billows dark, the fated shore,
 The forms that sink and rise no more,
 The ocean of eternity.

REVIEW.

Nec vero ha: sine sorte data, sine judice, sedet.—*Pvrg.*

ARTICLE 1.

*Situation of England in 1811, by M. Mie. de Montgaillard.
Translated from the French by a citizen of the United States.*

"We ought to be apprehensive, that the mad pretensions, the tyranny, and the cupidity of our ministers will one day open the eyes of all Europe.—Let us enjoy with moderation our commercial prosperity, and not excite wars—If a great man should be seated on the throne of France, England would fall, and would be of no more importance than the island of Sardinia, for bankruptcy is at our doors."

Bolingbroke 1732.

New York, printed by C. S. Van Winkle, No. 122, Water Street, 1812.

Such is the title-page of a work, which is introduced to the American reader, as the production of a French nobleman of talents, and great political information, and which the translator believes to contain "truths of a nature to excite the deepest concern in the mind of every American who feels an interest in the independence, the welfare, and the prosperity of his country."

That such ought to be the effect of this work upon the mind of every reflecting man, of every man who regards the independence of Great Britain, and her ability to resist the enormous power, and increasing usurpations of France, as important to the whole civilized world, cannot be denied, if we assume with the translator, that this French writer has displayed to us momentous truths, has given us a just view of her finan-

cial and military power and has discovered a correct spirit of prophecy, in his annunciation of the solemn fate, which speedily and certainly awaits her. For ourselves however, we confess, that we can discover in the work in question no proofs of those talents, or of that extensive information, which the translator has discovered in it; and in place of important truths, we perceive only a repetition of those trite calumnies, and misrepresentations, which have been employed among the deluded nations of Europe, by every succeeding administration of France, with more effect against Great Britain, than has been produced by the very powerful arms of her numerous and combined opponents.

We should be disposed to say, that the quotation from Lord Bolingbroke is very happy, and appropriate to a work of this description, and that we entertain little doubt, that the prophecy of M. de Montgaillard in 1812 will prove to be as wholly unfounded, as that of his predecessor in 1732. It will be remembered, that Lord Bolingbroke, at the period just named, foretold the national bankruptcy and absolute fall of Great Britain, if her statesmen should continue to pursue the system, which had been adopted in the reign of Queen Anne and of George I. Yet we well know, that Lord Chatham, soon after this period, carried the maritime pretensions of Great Britain to a greater extent, plunged the nation into the most expensive wars, doubled the national debt, and still left her in a state of increased opulence and power. Succeeding statesmen, both in Great Britain and France, have also hazarded their reputations upon prophecies of a similar nature, and with as little good fortune. Mr. Hume, as sagacious an observer, at least, as M. de Montgaillard, gave it as his opinion, that whenever the national debt should amount to 100,000,000l. sterling, the nation must become bankrupt. Yet that event happened more than forty years since, and Great Britain is at least as firm and upright, and as much dreaded and hated by France, as she was then.

It is our design to consider, at some length, the positions of M. de Montgaillard, not on account of any intrinsic im-

pertains, which we have perceived in them, but because the relative situation of our own country and Great Britain, at this momentous crisis, renders it highly important, that no false estimate should be formed of her power, and no new prejudices should be excited, and inflamed against her political conduct and character. It is not therefore so much for the purpose of refuting the work of M. de Montgaillard, which we should suffer to pass into oblivion, and which will meet a refutation from time, and events, more perfect than any we could give, as to correct the false notions, which many of our own citizens have imbibed, and still entertain, that we shall ask a little patient attention from our readers.

As a writer, M. de Montgaillard's style is loose and declamatory—he is full of repetitions, without method, and we may add, without either originality or profoundness. The general scope of his work appears to be to justify the wisdom and policy of the Berlin and Milan decrees—to reconcile the enslaved nations of the continent to the vast sacrifices and privations, to which, by force of arms, they have been compelled to submit, in order to carry into effect the continental system; or, in other words, the excommunication of Great Britain from the pale of commerce. Whether he was employed officially by the French Emperor, to endeavour to write down the nation, which his arms had vainly attempted to subdue, or whether his work is the voluntary tribute of a loyal subject to recommend himself to the notice of the Emperor, we pretend not to say, but one point is known to every man, that not a sentiment or turn of expression is permitted to be issued from the press in France, especially on political subjects, which has not the previous approbation of the Emperor's ministers, and perhaps of the Emperor himself.—This may therefore be considered as an official exposé of Bonaparte to Europe—a sort of appeal to all cabinets, and people—a public exhortation to perseverance in their system; and the reward offered is the same, which has been held out to the French people from the time of Louis XIV to the present time. “Withhold your trade from Britian, and she will

starve.—Her soil is poor—her climate unkind—her productions miserable—she depends wholly upon you.—Give up your luxuries, and Britian will fall.”

The political motives, which might have urged France to publish such a work at this time, are very numerous; and intelligent men will consider it, only as a desperate effort to divert the attention of the suffering nations of the continent from the internal picture of distress, which is perpetually staring them in the face. For the first time for seventy years has Great Britain acquired and maintained a respectable, and much dreaded footing on the continent. That nation of shopkeepers, which has been so often the theme of French ridicule and abuse—which the French rulers and people have represented as cowardly and pusillanimous on land, still maintains armies in the very territories claimed by France—those armies which the Emperor in the face of all Europe declared he would drive into the ocean more than three years ago. The example, thus afforded to the world, of the possibility of resisting successfully the power of France, has struck him with dismay. He no longer dares to lead his armies in person against these Islanders. His ablest and oldest generals have been defeated. He has lost five hundred thousand men since his entrance into Spain, and he is now acting upon the defensive, against the very army, which he threatened to annihilate. Nor is this all—These events have roused the spirit of the North. Sweden no longer acknowledges his supremacy. Russia consults the interests of her people, and refuses to execute the continental system. Under this disastrous reverse of his hopes and schemes, what resource had he, to quiet the clamours of his own oppressed subjects, and to stifle the discontents of his subjugated states, but to assure them, that he is just about to conquer Great Britain, and to obtain the object of their fondest hopes, peace and free trade with her? Such is undoubtedly the object of this pamphlet, which we consider as nearly official, but if we needed any proof, that the system of the Berlin and Milan decrees sits

most heavily upon the people of the continent, we might derive it from this pathetic appeal to their patriotism to persevere in their privations, because their reward is at hand.

We shall now take up M. de Montgaillard's work in the order in which it is written, and make such quotations, and brief remarks upon his assertions, his reasoning, and his principles, as shall appear to us to be just. We would however observe, that from the nature of examinations of this sort, it will be impossible to be as brief, as one could wish, since many pages are sometimes required to refute a single false position, contained in as many lines.

In the introductory part of the work, we find its scope and object plainly developed; and the reader will be better enabled to estimate the fairness of the statements and reasoning which follow, if we present to him one or two short extracts from this introduction.

"Nature has decreed," says he, "that the French Empire should be the centre of strength and protection to all the nations of the continent. Such a political order is fixed and immutable.—It is therefore owing to circumstances essentially false, corrupt, and weak, that the sceptre of the seas has been momentarily placed in the hands of England."

We do not, we confess, see the connexion of these two propositions, although we see enough of immeasurable ambition, and of Gallie arrogance. If France, from her central situation among the feeble and divided nations of the continent, is well placed to give them law, and render them tributary to her power; or, as our author expresses it, to "afford them protection," still we do not see why it follows, that the sceptre of the seas is "momentarily" and unnaturally swayed by Great Britain. We do not perceive why Great Britain does not possess as permanent advantages to command the sovereignty of the ocean, as France enjoys for the control of the European continent. Her insular situation—her great population, necessarily forcing her hardy people into navigation—her fortunate position, extremely well calculated to enable her to close up the Baltic, and the German ocean, as well as to watch and

blockade the few ports along the shallow coast of France—above all, the adventurous spirit of her people, displayed for many ages, appear to us to be as solid, “and immutable, and fixed” causes, of her maritime power, as the situation and fertility of France, as well as the restless, military character of her subjects are of *her* authority upon land.

We are not however so ready to accede to the *first* position, though constantly advanced by Frenchmen, and of late years too often admitted by writers of other nations. We do not believe, that the political power of France has been decreed by nature to be fixed, and immutable. If this had been true, the sceptre of the continent would have been long since constantly swayed by that ambitious, unprincipled, and warlike people. Under Charlemagne, France possessed this power, and it was, compared with that of other nations, more absolute and gigantic than it is at the present day. If nature had decreed, that it should be “fixed and immutable,” we should not so soon have seen that empire crumbling into atoms, as numerous and as feeble as those into which (we trust) the next generation, if not the present, will see that which now exists split up, and divided. What is there naturally, more permanent in the power and resources of France than in those of Austria or Spain? If we should take history as our guide, we should be much more disposed to predict the resuscitation of German power, and the division of France once more into separate military clans, than the continuance and permanence of the present ill-jointed, ill-assorted empire of Napoleon. We will give one other specimen of the spirit in which the prefatory remarks of M. de Montgaillard are made.

“We must examine,” says he, “into the naval power and commercial riches of England—we must strip, to the eyes of Europe this phantom of prosperity which had seduced every government, which oppressed all people, and which would have bound the Universe under the most shameful and inflexible laws, if, amidst every prodigy and every kind of glory which can honor the human mind, Providence, in his eternal justice, had not signalized and marked out to the people of this world, the avenger of their rights and the protector of their liberties.”

Our readers will be at no loss to know, who it is that is the avenger of the rights, and the protector of the liberties of the people of this world, whom a kind Providence has raised up to defend the suffering nations from the oppressions and cruelties of Great Britain. It is a man than whom none ever rose to more power, or was less scrupulous in the means of its acquisition, or more unrelenting in its exercise——Emperor of the West, king of Lombardy, Protector of the Helvetic and Rhenish confederacies, Sovereign Liege Lord of Italy and Dalmatia——There is not one of his titles which does not bring before the mind a long, dark, and bloody train of acts of perfidy and usurpation, of treachery and violence. The invader of Spain and Portugal, the author of the continental system, is this Frenchman's “avenger of the rights of mankind.” The protector of their liberties had made and unmade eleven kings, thirty or forty dukes and princeps, annihilated six republics, sold one of them to a monarch, his father of Austria, given a viceroy to a second, and a king to a third. All this he has done for the good of the people of this world, and for the same end he has, when the due time came, deposed his mock monarchs, and placed their crowns on his own head. It is to please this man that M. de Montgaillard has written his book, to strip Great Britain of her power, to represent it as a mere *phantom!* It is indeed a phantom, which haunts the sleeping, and the waking hours of M. de Montgaillard's hero. It is a phantom, which attacks and demolishes his marine in every ocean. It is a phantom, which is perpetually pouring out its thunders at the entrances of his ports, and insulting this mighty master of the continent, on his very shores. It is a phantom, which has dissolved the charm, which has broken the spell of his invincibility. It has cast its shield over the remaining liberties of the world, checking his career, and humbling his hopes.

But we proceed to consider M. de Montgaillard's first section, on “the constitutive principles and spirit of the British government, with regard to its naval and commercial power.”

Two positions are advanced by M. de Montgaillard in this section; the first is, that commerce does not constitute the real strength of a state, that the wealth and power produced by it are unstable, and in a great measure fictitious.

Secondly, that the power of Great Britain principally, and indeed he often intimates almost *wholly*, depends upon her commerce; of course it rests on an unstable and fictitious foundation, and must speedily fall.—

These positions form the ground-work of his arguments in every section of his pamphlet.

"Commerce," says M. de Montgaillard, "does not constitute the *real* strength and prosperity of a state: it only develops and increases them. Commerce exhibits every *appearance* of riches, but it constitutes not the true wealth of a state. The real strength of a nation consists in its population, and the fertility of its soil. Commerce indeed is seen to change from region to region, from people to people. The sands, the deserts of the east, formerly enriched with palaces and temples, scarcely possess their ruins; whilst the nation of the Gauls invariably offer that fertility and wealth, which in ancient times rendered their territory of such importance to Roman power."

For the first position in the above passage, M. de Montgaillard assigns no reason—he affirms merely that commerce does not constitute the real strength and prosperity of a state. He does, to be sure, assert its instability, and relies on history to support his assertion. But if commerce has changed from region to region, from people to people, so too has political power, and national wealth, when arising from other causes. With regard to population, which is one of M. de Montgaillard's sources of strength, nations which formerly boasted their millions of inhabitants, now scarcely afford a solitary guide to point out the ruins of their temples, and their cities; and this remark is as applicable to those who subsisted by agriculture, as to those who rose to power and wealth by commerce.

If M. de Montgaillard would have us believe that France, because it is fertile, has always been rich and powerful *as a state*, (and it is only in its political character *as a state*, that his observations can have any degree of pertinence,) his remark is wholly unfounded. The political power of Great Britain

has been as durable, and can boast as high antiquity, as that of the kingdom of the *Franks*. Gaul, at the time when Julius Cæsar conquered it, was a feeble and divided country. It had no political strength or consistency, though its citizens were then, as well as now, brave and warlike. Since its union under Clovis, and indeed since the time of Charlemagne, it has often been as weak as any of the considerable states in Europe.

If the strength of a nation consist exclusively in its population and fertility, and if these are so much more permanent than commercial power, how does it happen that Spain, formerly more populous than France, and possessing a finer climate, and as rich a soil, became so feeble, and so degraded in the scale of nations? Spain, which under Charles V kept all Europe in commotion and awe, fell into torpidity and disgrace long before Holland, which is cited in our author as an example of the ill effects of commerce, experienced the same fate.

Our author thus proceeds in his argument, if it may be dignified with that name:

"A state, the principal riches of which consist in the produce of an industry which is not peculiar to it, that is to say, which is not inherent in its soil, or does not spring from its local productions, is in a very precarious situation. It enjoys but an artificial importance. Tyre, Palmyrā, Carthage, Venice, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Lisbon, and even Cadiz, prove this assertion."

Here again we have the writer's historical researches, but we might ask, why he omitted to mention Sparta, Macedonia, Egypt, Rome, and Prussia?—These countries were principally devoted to agriculture and arms. Italy is as fertile as France, its climate is as favorable and genial, and its population, under the first twelve Cæsars, was as great. Yet the sceptre of empire departed from her perhaps never again to return. Egypt too, under the Ptolemies, was one of the richest countries in the world—populous and fertile, it ought, according to M. de Montgaillard, by the "decrees of nature to

have had its power fixed immutable." Yet we have seen Egypt, from causes very different from those which our author assigns, become one vast desert, scarcely affording a precarious subsistence to a few wandering tribes of Arabs, and some thousands of indolent and haughty Turks.—Macedonia rose to consequence by its military prowess. The nation was wholly agricultural and military. Yet no nation ever attained so suddenly to so vast a power, or experienced so rapid and fatal a decline.

In more modern days we have seen an elector of Brandenburg extending his arms over the richest provinces of Europe, and founding an empire, which for some score of years might be classed among the leading, and almost powerful states of Europe. This empire possessed all the requisites of stability, which M. de Montgaillard has described. It was populous—its whole population had a military cast—it disdained commerce—its local situation forbade it—it was wholly an agricultural nation—it enjoyed, especially in its provinces of Silesia and the conquered parts of Poland, the most fertile soil in Christendom. It was the granary of Europe. Yet this powerful state did not endure a single century from the time of its emerging from obscurity till its final fall. We could, if we were disposed, multiply examples without number; but we should hardly be forgiven by that portion of our readers who are acquainted with history, for attempting to prove that the great commercial states have enjoyed as long periods of power and prosperity, as any of the great military and agricultural nations. As M. de Montgaillard, in support of his position, that commerce is a frail and changeable source of national power, has adduced no reasons, why it should be so, but has preferred to rest on remarks from history, we have merely followed him in his course. At present we can see no cause why power thus supported should not be as durable, and as solid, as that founded on military character, or upon agricultural pursuits.

We shall now proceed to say a few words on his second position—That Great Britain depends principally, if not

wholly, on her *exterior commerce*, for the support of her power; and we undertake to show, that this is not true—that her power rests on as stable a foundation as that of France, even if we assume as correct M. de Montgaillard's own definition of the true sources of power.

M. de Montgaillard has made an imprudent concession, founded to be sure upon well known facts, but utterly inconsistent with his general assertion, that the power of Great Britain depends almost wholly upon her commerce. He admits, that “under the reign of Charles I, England counted but three merchant ships of three hundred tons, and the whole merchant shipping of that kingdom did not amount to more than one thousand and seven hundred ships,” a number considerably less than that now owned by the single state of Massachusetts. But will M. de Montgaillard deny, that England was for many centuries, preceding the reign of Charles I, a very powerful and influential state in Europe, even when compared with the populous and fertile kingdom of France? Has he forgotten Edward, the black prince? Has he overlooked the battles of Poitiers, Cressy, and Agincourt? Has he omitted in his historical researches the coronation of Henry V, at Paris, and the quartering of the arms of France in the escutcheon of England? Will he contend, that England, when she was able to subdue France, was not a powerful nation? We are all agreed, that at that time she was the least *commercial nation* of Europe. What then was the foundation of her power at that period? The fertility of her soil—the valour, industry, and enterprising disposition of her people. Have these causes ceased to operate or exist? No. It is well known, that the same bold, adventurous spirit—the same fearlessness of danger—the same invincible obstinacy in conflict, both upon sea and land, form the prominent features of the British character.

We may now add, that at the period of which we have been speaking, when England (for Great Britain did not then exist as an empire) was enabled to shake France to its centre, Scotland was a separate kingdom, restrained with great ex-

pense from actual hostility; and Ireland, a barbarous, half-subdued state, diverting and dividing the forces of England. The whole population of the three kingdoms, did not at that period exceed five millions. What then must be the natural and permanent power of the three kingdoms, now firmly united under one head, and enjoying a population of nearly eighteen millions? If the United States, possessing a population of two millions and an half, were able to resist the whole power of Great Britain in a conflict upon land, what might not eighteen millions of active and warlike people, rich beyond any parallel, be able to accomplish, even if they should be obliged to renounce their commerce?

Spain, for many years last past, has ceased to be a commercial nation. She cannot reckon upon more than seven millions of inhabitants, unaccustomed to war, depressed by the most abject slavery, and the most debasing superstition, unnerved by long habits of inaction and indolence. Yet this nation, so long the scorn and pity of Europe, has been able successfully to contend with the veteran armies, and gigantic force of France, aided as these last have been by internal faction, and by treason.

In addition to her great population, Great Britain possesses a soil as fertile as that of France. Her cultivation is much superior to that of any nation in Europe. Her great staple, wool, is a source of riches exceeding the produce of the vineyards of France. It is a staple which France and many other nations cannot supply, though they must consume it. The soil and climate of France is extremely unfavorable to the support of cattle and sheep. She is confined to the culture of grain, and of vineyards. Yet Great Britain has scarcely yielded to France in the production of grain. Her agriculture is so much more improved than that of France, as nearly to have compensated for the difference of the extent of her territory by the superior degree of productiveness of her cultivated lands. We do not speak at random—we refer to the statistical accounts of the two nations, and

we request those of our readers, who entertain any doubts on this subject to peruse the works of Mons. Peuchet on the state of the agriculture and productions of France, and those of Arthur Young, who has taken a thorough agricultural survey of both countries. It would lead us into a field too wide to make the necessary quotations from these works.

But we do not rest alone on these well known, and well attested facts, to prove, that Great Britain, even if her exterior commerce should be instantly annihilated, would still be a powerful and independent nation, able, we trust in heaven, to resist successfully the attempts of the "avenger and protector of oppressed nations." We meet M. de Montgaillard on his own positions, and we undertake to shew, that the commerce of Great Britain has all the characters of solidity and durability, which M. de Montgaillard has been pleased to assume as the only substantial supports of useful commerce.

"The commerce," says he, "truly useful to a state; the commerce that *lasts forever*, and which *constantly* procures *new* wealth to a state, is that which consists in the exchange of the surplus productions of its soil and industry, for objects of necessity or luxury, of which that nation is deprived."

M. de Montgaillard admits, that it is indifferent whether these *surplus* productions are the effect of agriculture merely, or of the industry of its inhabitants applied to the raw material produced by agriculture. If he had not been disposed to admit this, it would have been easy to shew, that if a pound of wool, valued at a dollar, or a sheaf of rye straw at half that price, can, by the industry of the inhabitants of any country, be converted into an article of consumption, which will produce to the nation four dollars, this last amount is the true value of the whole production. It is in this view, that population is said to contribute to the wealth and power of a state, and the whole amount of the industry of a nation, whether employed in raising the raw material, or in converting it into objects of use, may be considered as forming the solid productions of a country.

Now it is a fact well known, that the exports of Great

Britain in the productions of its own soil, and those of its industry are twice as great as those which she imports from other countries, and re-exports, including even in this last amount the productions of her colonies abroad.

But this would be an unfair view of the case. The productions of her colonies are in a great measure to be continued the same as the productions of Great Britain herself. In the East Indies, where she has founded an empire much more extensive than her territory in Europe, it is a well known fact, that her citizens only go thither either in public employments, or for the purposes of temporary traffic, and as they acquire fortunes, the whole amount so acquired is remitted to the parent country, to which those citizens usually return, to spend the evening of their lives, and to swell the amount of her opulence and her power. It is true likewise that the owners of many of her West India settlements reside in England. The same thing formerly took place in France, as to her settlements of St. Domingo, Guadaloupe, and Martinique. Those colonies remitted to the parent country more than one million sterling a year, which was expended within the parent state. But what difference can it make in the real power of a state, whether its productions are raised within its territory, or upon an island, appertaining to it, and cultivated by its citizens, at three miles, or three thousand miles distance from its shores? Do not Newport and Long Island constitute a part of the power and wealth of the states to which they respectively belong? And where would be the difference, if they were situated at a distance of two thousand leagues, provided the whole produce was remitted to the country with which they were connected?

These then are simple questions of fact. Is it true that a great proportion of the owners of plantations in the West Indies reside in England? Is the whole produce of their plantations remitted there? Does it contribute to the taxes of the state? Is it still more the case, that the produce of her possessions in India is remitted to Great Britain?

If all these questions should be answered, which they must

be, in the affirmative, then we contend, and we are prepared to prove it by official documents, that the exterior commerce of Great Britain, which is employed in the transport and sale of goods not the produce of British industry, is not equal to ten per centum on the whole amount of her trade. If this be so, and we knew it cannot be disproved, though a declamatory writer may deny it, then it follows, that according to M. de Montgaillard's own definition, "the commerce of Great Britain is one which is truly useful to a state, and must last forever, because it is employed in exporting the productions of its own soil and industry."

In the next section M. de Montgaillard professes to give a brief history of "the sea and land force of Great Britain," but it is in fact a very incorrect account of the rise and progress of her naval power only. We see nothing in this chapter new, or interesting; nothing which has the smallest bearing upon the great object of his work, to prove the instability of British power. There are only two remarks which deserve notice. One of them is a calumny against Queen Elizabeth for having been the author of privateering. With regard to this, it is only necessary to observe, that he is wholly wrong in his fact, privateering having been known for many ages before the reign of Elizabeth, and its laws and regulations having been the subject of discussion.* It may be further observed, that allowing Queen Elizabeth to have been the first instructor in this art of predatory war, the French nation have proved the aptest scholars; for during all the wars in which they have been engaged since the beginning of the eighteenth century, they have fitted out many more privateers than have been sent out by Great Britain.

The other remark of M. de Montgaillard worthy of notice in this section is, that the naval power of Great Britain depends very much upon the sailors which she has enlisted in the Baltic, which he estimates at forty thousand, and of which he contends she will hereafter be deprived by the operation of the Berlin and Milan decrees. We are well aware

* See Grotius De Jure Bell. et Pac. B. iii. c. 6. s. 2. et s. 6 cum not.

that Great Britain has always employed a very considerable number of Northern sailors, though we should think it greatly overrated by our author; but if he means to infer that even if deprived of this resource she will be unable to man her ships of war, we think him most ignorant of her resources and character. He admits himself, that her merchant service alone employs two hundred thousand seamen. It would be very easy to supply the place of the forty thousand foreign sailors from this source, and to rear up a new class of sailors for merchant service, which does not require so able-bodied or skillful mariners.

But how are these forty thousand foreign sailors to be withdrawn from her employ? Will they desert in order to subject themselves to the code of conscription, with worse pay, clothing, and treatment? How came they in the British service? Not one by force, or impressment. They are sailors who deserted the service of their own country, allured by the glory, the success, the liberality which is attendant on the British service. How will recent well known facts support M. de Montgaillard's theory, that the foreign sailors are to be withheld from Great Britain by the new Napoleon code? Is it not well ascertained, that in attempting to carry this code into effect in the Dutch and Hamburg ports, the sailors mutinied and refused to enter the French service? The foreign seamen in British employ are chiefly Danes and Swedes, and the Napoleon conscription has not as yet extended to them. The force of France is not perfectly in operation upon these countries. What effect then will the Berlin and Milan decrees have on this subject? We should reason in a manner directly opposite to that of our author. These decrees destroying, root and branch, the commerce of Denmark and Sweden, two great navigating states, their amphibious subjects, so many of whom, from the time of King Swein to the present day, have lived more upon the ocean than the land, will abandon their country, where they cannot find subsistence, and fly to Great Britain, where they can. Those of them who dislike the military naval service will find ready employment in

her merchant vessels, and will therefore liberate an equal portion of her native subjects for the defence of her wooden bulwarks.

In the next section M. de Montgaillard gives us his remarks on the population and agriculture of Great Britain. The avowed object of which is to show, as he assures us, that she "is not in a condition to maintain for a length of time such a naval power as she now has."

If M. de Montgaillard had, with the usual shrewdness of his nation, confined himself to declamatory remarks, and bold assertions upon that most inextricable subject, *finance*, which few men out of Great Britain practically understand, though all, who would be thought profound politicians, talk most unintelligibly about it, he would have been wise. But when he undertakes to prove the falling state of Great Britain, from the situation of her population and agriculture, he enters upon topics which we can all both comprehend, and discuss with him.

He sets out by stating the whole mass of population of the three kingdoms to be from two to four millions less than has been usually admitted, which difference alone would be competent to supply their whole marine. He then asserts, that in proportion to the whole number, Great Britain has fewer middle aged men than any other nation.

He intimates, that the great number employed in her various manufactures is a proof of the diminution of population. He proceeds to assert that this population, produced by extensive manufactures, is a forced one, because it draws into the country a vast number of foreigners, who will emigrate as soon as those manufactures shall be checked, which he constantly declares they will soon be by the potent operation of the Berlin and Milan decrees. He adds that the paupers subsisted, in whole or in part, by charity in the three kingdoms in 1808, amounted to eight hundred and ten thousand. Lastly he asserts, that she does not raise bread-corn enough for her own subsistence; although he admits that her agriculture is carried on with great care and industry, and is ably conducted.

These, we believe, form the only interesting remarks in this most important chapter, in which M. de Montgaillard undertakes to shew the utter inability of Great Britain to maintain her naval power for any great length of time. We shall consider these in the order in which we have stated them.

First, then, respecting the population of the three kingdoms, instead of the conjectural statements of M. de Montgaillard, who puts it at twelve millions, we will give the following account from official returns to parliament:

The population of England and Scotland in 1801

was	10,942,646
Persons employed in the military and naval service	470,598

The population in 1811 was 12,552,144

To this is to be added the population of Ireland,
which, in 1811, was 5,400,000

Making the whole population of the three kingdoms 17,952,144

Persons employed in the military and naval service, estimated by M. de Montgaillard at about 800,000, according to official returns in 1811 640,500

This is exclusive of that part of the militia, who are trained, and under military discipline, and differ in no respect from the regular forces, except their being exempt from foreign service. Including these, Great Britain has a standing force of armed citizens, amounting to* 840,000

The increase of the population of England and Scotland for ten years may be seen above. The population of Ireland in 1695 was estimated at 1,000,000; in 1781, at 2,000,000; and in 1811 was 5,400,000. The progress of Great Britain and Ireland in population has, we presume, equalled, if not exceeded, that of any other European state.

With regard to M. de Montgaillard's assertion, that Great Britain has fewer middle aged men than other nations; that is, men capable of serving their country in war, it is to us a

* See Capt. Paisley's late work on the subject.

new remark, and may or may not be true. The reason assigned by him for this supposed effect, that great numbers perish at sea, has some weight, but we are satisfied that France wastes double the population annually, by her wars and numerous armies, that Great Britain does, and it is a fact that the population of Great Britain, notwithstanding all her drains, is, as we have seen, constantly increasing.

M. de Montgaillard, after stating that there are eight hundred thousand persons in the three kingdoms employed in manufactures, and about four hundred thousand land-holders, makes this very extraordinary, and to us unintelligible assertion—“*This unmeasured extension of manufacturing industry offers a proof of the relative diminution of the population in England.*”

Now allowing M. de Montgaillard’s statement concerning the number of persons employed in manufactures to be correct, we cannot see any proof of an unmeasured or undue extension of manufacturing industry. If the whole population be taken in round numbers at eighteen millions, there must be nine millions at least capable of some species of labor, and who must depend on that labor for subsistence. In most of the manufactures of silk and cotton goods, women and children are almost as useful as men; so that if our author is right in his estimate of the numbers employed in the various manufactures, it appears that not one eleventh part of those capable of labor are thus employed. From the statement of French writers, and from actual observation, we should be inclined to believe that a greater proportion of the whole population of France is employed in manufactures than of Great Britain. If it be asked how it happens, if this be the case, that France exports so little; we answer, her own consumption is vast—she imports very little from other countries—her capital engaged in manufactures is small—her artizans are ill paid, and worse fed—and her monarch, with much parade in his zeal for the prosperity of his empire, in fact cramps, and embarrasses every species of industry.

It is however a new idea to us, “*that the extension of*

manufactures affords a proof of a diminished population." On the other hand we had always conceived it to be a proof of a redundant population. We had thought, and we still think, that extensive manufactures cannot be successfully established but where such a population exists, and that they are favorable to its support and maintenance. We believe that M. de Montgaillard is singular in his opinion, that the establishment of manufactures affords proof of a diminished population. We have seen however what is in fact the case, with regard to the population of the three kingdoms.

M. de Montgaillard has another strange idea, as to the state of English manufactures. We give it in his own words:

"A manufacturing nation may indeed exhibit momentarily an overgrown population, because great benefits are granted to immigrant strangers, a lucrative protection assured to new establishments, in a word, every kind of encouragement bestowed upon commerce, attracts workmen, multiplies them without forming families, and fills the work-shops with an artificial population. Let the usual outlets to manufactured productions close, or dry up, the number of manufactories diminish, and that borrowed population soon disappears."

We have but one answer to this, as applied to Great Britain, and we think it ought to be satisfactory. It is not true, that she is indebted, in any degree whatever, to foreign artificers. All her vast and extensive work-shops are supplied by her own citizens, and so far from borrowing from other nations, she supplies to France, Russia, and to the United States of America, some of the ablest and most ingenious workmen which these countries possess. The reduction of her manufactories would therefore only tend to replenish, and recruit her navy, and armies.

Our author then adduces the number of paupers supported by the public munificence as a proof of the "impoverishment and decline of the body-politic." He estimates these at eight hundred and ten thousand, and the public contribution for their support at four millions of pounds sterling.

We are not disposed to deny these facts. We presume that they are correctly stated. It is true that Great Britain

is the only European nation which has a public and general establishment for the poor. In some other countries they are suffered to starve and perish. It is true also, that many wise and learned writers in England and other countries have questioned the policy of these humane provisions, so honorable to the national character of Great Britain. They have doubted whether the certainty of public aid has not a tendency to increase the number of poor. We are not prepared to discuss this question, nor are we at present disposed to deny the above opinion. But when we are treating of the comparative strength of nations, it is proper to consider how Great Britain stands in a comparison with her great rival, France. In France there are no means, as in Great Britain, of ascertaining the number of pensioners on charity. France, as a nation, does not stretch forth her hand to save the victim of poverty, if we except the aid afforded in her hospitals to the sick. We can only ascertain the comparative state of the poor by general appearances. In all the great towns, and in the smaller villages of France, the number of mendicants is at least five times that of Great Britain; and the scenes of wretchedness and misery are multiplied in an equal proportion. If any estimate can be formed from the general appearance of health, comfort, and ease, we should say, and that too from great opportunities of personal observation, that Great Britain has a smaller number of poor in proportion to its population than France, Italy, or even Holland, since the late revolution.

But our author, not satisfied with the proofs above stated, of the miserable condition of Great Britain, adds, "that she does not gather a sufficient quantity of grain for her own consumption;" and he would have us believe that the inhabitants would starve if they were destitute of foreign supply. It is well known, however, that at many periods within the last century, she has exported vast quantities of grain. If she does not always raise enough for her own consumption, it is simply because her agricultural subjects, the most sagacious and well informed in Europe, find their account in raising

other products than wheat. Her distilleries have consumed immense quantities of barley, and her breweries, of hops; these articles therefore take the place of bread-corn in cultivation. Her sheep afford a more profitable return, and grazing has of late years been found much more advantageous than the culture of wheat. As to Ireland, which our author cites as a country incapable of raising its own bread, who does not know that her staple, flax, is vastly more productive, and that she may well afford to pay a generous freight for the wheat of Barbary, when she lays the whole world under contribution for her fine linens? Who is so ignorant as to suppose that a soil capable of producing such immense quantities of flax, which requires the richest land, could not furnish bread for its citizens? It is true that the price of bread is higher in Great Britain than in France, and it is equally true, that such prices, as are paid by the poor in England, would shake the throne of Napoleon, if they should be demanded in France. It is also true that the price of labor in England bears a higher proportion to the price of bread, than it does in France, and that an attempt to reduce the wages of the laboring poor in England down to the standard of those of France would overturn the monarchy. Which is the surest proof of national prosperity, *cheap bread and low wages, or the necessities of life dear, and the price of labor high?*

The three next articles of M. de Montgaillard are necessarily connected; they relate to the expenses of the navy and army, the national debt, and the public revenue. The object of his remarks on each of these subjects is the same, to shew that the expenses of Great Britain, including in that article the interest of her debt, are vastly greater than her revenue; or rather than the revenue, which she will be able ordinarily to raise, especially after the grand continental system shall have been carried into full effect. According to M. de Montgaillard, the expenses of Great Britain for the support of both her navy and army have been for several years last past annually and rapidly augmenting, and they are stated by him to have amounted in 1809 to about forty millions of pounds sterling.

He asserts, that every Englishman pays at least two fifths of all his income to the government in taxes; and that the French government is the richest, while the British government is the poorest in all Europe. Following our author, we shall proceed to make some remarks upon the state of public credit, and upon the burdens respectively imposed on their subjects in Great Britain and France.

The first view which we shall take of the comparative strength and opulence of the two countries, is the state of public credit.

Much is said by M. de Montgaillard of the unwieldy amount of the public debt of England, which he predicts will soon sink her in bankruptcy and ruin.

It should however be remembered that France has gone through this bankruptcy—that she spunged off at one stroke two thirds of all her debt; and the reduced debt, of which M. de Montgaillard so arrogantly boasts, is now only the meagre residue of which her rulers did not see fit at that time to defraud the public creditors. The semestre, or half-yearly interest of even this reduced sum is not always punctually paid; we have seen it in arrear for several months, whenever the exigencies of the government required it. The French reduced debt is now at an interest of five per cent, and this diminished capital has fluctuated from forty eight per centum to ninety six. In 1806 we have personal knowledge that the French five per cents were down to forty eight per centum, and that the Banque of France was surrounded with an armed guard, to prevent the citizens from demanding payment of its bills, which stood in the market at twenty per cent discount for several months. The English five per cents have usually been above one hundred; and even their three per cents have borne a price generally equal to the five per cents of France. Great Britain is able to pay the whole interest punctually of her national debt. We are not disposed to deny, that this debt is a very great restraint upon the power of Great Britain. Without it, she might maintain one hundred thousand land forces on the continent, and if their courage and conduct should equal those which she has heretofore maintained, the emperor of France might trou-

ble on his ill-gotten, and ill-supported throne. It would be the greatest calamity which ever beset the usurper, if Great Britain, retaining her present opulence, should ever adopt the expedient of wiping off, by an act of parliament, her national debt. Such a measure would be however very inconsistent with her character, and, as we conceive, is totally unnecessary. Whence do modern politicians derive the opinion, that Great Britain cannot long struggle under the weight of her national debt? Is it proved by the state of affluence and prosperity, which prevails in an unexampled degree in that country? Is it proved by that most infallible criterion, the price of the public funds? Is it established by the great facility with which all her loans are constantly filled? It was supposed, we believe, by some men, that the failure or misfortunes of the Goldschmidts, who had for twenty years in succession taken a large part of the loans, would shake the credit of Great Britain. But their place was instantly supplied by others hitherto unknown; and the affairs of the finances were administered with as little difficulty as before. The truth is, that the capital of those great contractors bore a most pitiful proportion to the whole amount of the national wants, or national wealth. When a loan was taken by four or five great speculating houses, they calculated upon the sale of the stock to thousands of rich and opulent individuals, who were eager to invest their money on the credit of a nation in whose resources they had the most unlimited confidence. Let us pause here, and ask one simple question.—Is it not true that men who are interested in the solidity of the debtor, to whom they lend, are usually as astute in inquiring into his ability to pay, as strangers who merely speculate theoretically on the subject? And is it probable that a Frenchman can more correctly appreciate the real ability of the British nation to meet its engagements, than a subject of that country, who is about to place half his fortune on the scale which contains his country's fate, and who has every means, as well as every inducement, to sift her affairs to the bottom?

But, says M. de Montgaillard repeatedly in the course of

his work, “Lord Bolingbroke, who lived a century ago, was of opinion, that the nation could bear, and would indeed prosper under one hundred and twenty millions of debt, but she will perish under a greater burden.” Now Lord Bolingbroke might have been perfectly correct at the time, when Great Britain had only six millions of subjects, six hundred thousand tons of shipping, four settlements in India, and fewer than any other European power in the Antilles; when her whole revenue was only six millions, according to our author. But what ought to be her means of supporting a national debt, or what might be its amount, or what would such a man as Bolingbroke have admitted to be its practicable amount, when her population is doubled—her India possessions increased ten-fold, (we are within the true limits)—the whole Antilles, and Demerara, and Surinam, and the Mauritius in her power—when her revenue, instead of six millions, amounts to sixty millions? If we take an average of these respective increments of the sources of her power, we may fairly say that she has quintupled her means of meeting her expenditures. If so, it will follow that she can bear a debt of six hundred millions now with as much ease as she could have born one of an hundred and twenty millions in the age of Lord Bolingbroke. But a still better reply to this argument is, that she does in fact bear it, and with very much increased vigor. Her lands and her rents have risen ten fold since that period. Her public funds are at a higher price; the rate of interest for money is much lower; her public works and improvements are in a much more extended ratio than her public debt.

We shall now proceed to consider M. de Montgaillard's last ground for maintaining that Great Britain is in a desperate situation, and that she will soon be compelled to relinquish the present contest, and that is, the enormous taxes which her subjects are obliged to pay, compared with those which are paid in France. We have carefully examined the statistical accounts given by M. Pechet, which, like all French works of the present day, must be presumed to be as favorable as possible for the views of the despot who new re-

strains that nation by military power, and we are well-persuaded, from this partial representation of the burdens imposed on the French people, that they are much greater, than those which are borne by the English nation. On this branch of our subject, we shall substitute the remarks of our enlightened fellow citizen, Mr. Walsh, not merely on account of his superior opportunities and attainments, but because having carefully collated the facts stated by him with documents in our possession, we are well persuaded of his correctness. "The 'contribution foncière,' or land tax," says Mr. Walsh, in which he is supported by Peuchet, "is one fifth of the net income of the subject; to which is added the personal contribution which embraces every article which falls within the list of the assessed taxes in England. Horses, dogs, servants, vehicles, utensils, the rest of dwellings, stock of every description, are included. An impost on gateways and chimneys is added to that on doors and windows. The charges on these articles are all of the heaviest kind. In addition to these there is a tax, not known in England, upon the privilege of exercising trades and professions, and upon the emoluments and transfers of public offices."

In addition to this accumulation of every species of taxation, which the inventive genius of French financiers could suggest, the mode of assessing them is most arbitrary, irregular, and despotic. "In England, on the contrary," says Mr. Walsh, "the inequalities of the land tax are softened by the paternal vigilance of the government. The circumstances of the two nations are also extremely different. Since the time of William and Mary, the rents in England have been constantly augmenting, and the increase of the value of property has outstripped all calculation. The land tax therefore subducts but a small proportion, even from the rich, and scarcely touches the lower classes of the people. The same effect is not produced in France, where so many persons are limited to a bare subsistence, and where the deduction of one fifth part from all, trenches very deeply upon the small proprietor."

The whole amount of the taxes levied in France, Mr. Walsh, we find, estimates pretty nearly as we had done, at about twelve hundred millions of francs, or sixty millions of pounds sterling. No reliance, he thinks with us, can be placed on the annual exposé of the minister, where there is no responsibility but to his master, whose interest it is to deceive the people; or upon the forced and ridiculous accuracy, with which the receipts and expenditures have always been made so nicely to balance each other.

"I have noticed," says Mr. Walsh, "an error, both in this country, and in England, that the burden of taxes is more oppressive in England than in France. What I have stated is sufficient to refute this error. In England, the mass of national wealth is much greater than in France; the annual amount of the taxable means of the former beyond those of France may be estimated at sixty millions of pounds. The public revenue in England is between sixty and seventy millions. A large portion of it is paid to native subjects, who pay back largely into the treasury, and thus the whole is rapidly restored to circulation."

M. de Montgaillard makes a pompous display of the great increase of the British expenditures. But Mr. Walsh destroys this source of comparative triumph, by shewing that, according to M. Necker, the whole expenditures of France, prior to the revolution, did not exceed five hundred and eighty five millions of francs, when France had an industrious population, flourishing manufactures, opulent colonies, and an extensive commerce. Now, nearly fourteen hundred millions of francs are levied or extorted from a people, deprived in a great measure of commerce and manufactures, and wholly destitute of colonies.

Under all the burdens by which it is pretended that the people of England are oppressed, it is a fact well known, that the rent of lands in that country is at least double to the rent of equally good lands in France. The price of the fee simple in England varies from twenty eight to thirty years purchase; that of lands in France seldom rises to twenty years

purchase. In the year 1806, houses and lands, in and near the most opulent cities of France, could scarcely be sold at any price. In the department of the Garonne, formerly the richest and most productive part of France, the crops were in so little demand, that some of the most extensive plantations were offered to any person gratis who would gather the crop. The holders of vineyards were so reduced and dispirited that they petitioned the emperor for relief; and he was pleased to order them a loan of one million of francs (about two hundred thousand dollars). This was considered as an insult to their sufferings, as it afforded only about five hundred dollars to each of these great cultivators, and this too merely as a loan. The lands in England, on the contrary, meet a more ready sale than any property in the kingdom; and although subject to the enormous taxes which M. de Montgaillard represents, produce a much higher price than those of France. There never has been an example of an application of the land-holders of England to the government for relief.

"Whatever," says Mr. Walsh, "may be the representations of those, who, with little knowledge of the facts, affect to deplore the condition of England, it is true, nevertheless, that there has not existed so beautiful and perfect a model of public and private prosperity. I saw no instances of individual oppression, and scarcely any of individual misery, but that which belongs to the infirmity of all human institutions. I found there every indication of a state in a rapid career of advancement, a metropolis opulent beyond example, a cheerful peasantry, well fed, and commodiously lodged, an ardent attachment to the constitution, and a *full reliance* on the national resources. I heard but few well grounded complaints of the amount, and none of the collection of the taxes. The demands of the state create no impediment to consumption, or discouragement to industry."

Animated as this description is, yet the same means of information as was enjoyed by its author, personal observation, and this during a residence of many months in that country, in different years, and those among the darkest in the present

war, have satisfied us, that Mr. Walah's picture is natural and correct.

This, then, is a view of the state of England. M^r de Montgaillard may, if he pleases, denominate her vast resources fictitious riches, but we have a short answer to all his remarks on this subject, and that answer is, that the people of England do in fact furnish, feed, supply, and support their immense armies and navies, without any resort to foreign nations for assistance; and still enjoy far more ease and affluence than any other people in Europe. If such are the effects of fictitious riches, wo do not know whether it be worth while for a nation to be very solicitous about any other.

We shall now make a few remarks upon two positions, that we have not yet noticed, which are advanced by M^r de Montgaillard in the course of his work.

The first is the facility with which France can place her marine on a footing to combat with advantage, and indeed superiority, the naval forces of Great Britain. His argument on this point is founded on the rapid career of the French marine under the ministry of Richelieu, and in that splendid period of French power, the reign of Louis XIV. But a very conclusive answer is, that Bonaparte has been in the full possession of all the power and resources of France for more than eleven years; he has strained every nerve to restore the French marine; he has expended, according to Mons. Peuchet, an annual sum nearly equal to the whole expenses of the marine of Great Britain; and yet he appears to be as far as ever from the attainment of his object. The master of the continent seems to have forgotten, that it is not in human power to build up a formidable navy without experienced seamen, and that these cannot be procured without commerce. This hero, so truly terrible on land, has been guilty of the inconsistency and absurdity of destroying commerce, the only nursery of seamen, while he has been wasting his resources in building ships, which will in consequence, when called into service, only tend to increase the marine of his enemy. Great Brit-

she may lay aside her dock-yards, provided Bonaparte will vigorously pursue the building and equipment of his navy.

But we are told lastly, by M. de Montgaillard, that the bank of England is in a state of insolvency—that it is intimately connected with the government, and that the issue of its bills may be considered as a species of paper currency, which he compares to the assignats of France.

Now there cannot be a stronger proof of the vigour and opulence of the English nation, and of their confidence in the resources of the government, than the facts relative to their national bank. Its cash payments were suspended in 1797. Every man, well or ill affected to the British nation, predicted the rapid depreciation of its bills, in consequence of this measure. Yet we have personal knowledge, that in 1805, eight years afterwards, the credit of its bank bills was such as to command any quantity of specie at par. It is true, that since the war in Portugal, and since the interruption of British commerce on the continent, they have been obliged to remit in specie most enormous sums for the support of their navy and army, and gold has attained a very high and unusual price. It is true also, that writers in England have been divided on this subject, and while some have attributed the effect solely to the remittances made to the continent, thereby creating an unnatural scarcity of gold, others with M. de Montgaillard have supposed it to proceed from an over emission of bank unredeemable paper. We take however no part in this discussion; though we rather incline, from all the facts, to be in favor of those who maintain the casual nature of this depreciation; and we do this more readily, because we find no alarm in the nation, except among the disaffected, and because we find also, that bank stock maintains its price notwithstanding this depreciation of its bills, or perhaps, as we are more inclined to call it, advance of the price of gold. But whatever opinion we might entertain on this subject, we are convinced that even the failure of the bank would create only a temporary distress in the nation. There would still be as active, vigorous, able, and intelligent a

population, as well cultivated a soil, as many industrious citizens, as many ships, seamen, and enterprising merchants, as before. It may be recollect, that while the whole property of the nation has been by a census valued at fifteen hundred millions of pounds sterling, it is not probable, that the fate of a bank, whose whole property and debts do not exceed thirty millions, or *two per cent* of the national riches, could fundamentally affect the prosperity of the state.

We have now done with this essay of M. de Montgaillard. The interesting nature of the subject, the prevalence of erroneous ideas concerning it, especially in our country, have had much more influence in inducing us to enter into this detailed refutation of M. de Montgaillard's positions, than the intrinsic merits of his essay. It is because the system of our national policy is in some degree professedly founded on the same unsupported positions, upon which M. de Montgaillard reposes, that we have thought that a thorough and candid investigation of them might be productive of some good in the present distracted and melancholy state of our country. We know, that not only the more ignorant partizans of the existing policy of the United States, but that some men, who have at present most influence on the fate of our country, have with M. de Montgaillard believed, or affected to believe, that the fate of Great Britain is decided and irreversible—that she must soon sink under the overwhelming power of France, and that policy and sound discretion dictate to the United States to shun any connection with this falling power, and to court the friendship of her enemy. We have already, in the course of our review, endeavoured (with what success our readers must judge,) to shew the fallacy of this belief.

But there is another opinion of M. de Montgaillard, which we have not touched, and which is, or has been, equally prevalent among a certain class in our country; and that is, that Great Britain is the enemy of neutral commerce, and of the maritime rights of other nations, of which France is the disinterested champion and friend.

With regard to this opinion, we feel no zeal or interest,

except as lovers of truth and justice, and except too that we fear that the unfounded prejudices against Great Britain scattered among the uninformed in our own country may inflame the spirit of hostility against her, which is already too extensive and too deeply rooted, either for our interest or our honor.

It would be a strange phenomenon indeed, if Bonaparte, who has marched from one conquest, and the extinction of one neutral state to another, until but one nation on the continent of Europe retains any considerable share of independence, should be, in truth and sincerity, the friend of neutral rights upon the ocean. A man who can believe that he is, must believe something more. He must believe that every nation, which has been successively attacked and annihilated by France, was the aggressor. He must think that Holland had no right to elect her own rulers—that the Cisalpine republic had forfeited her claim to independence—that Venice deserved to be sold to Austria—that the Swiss had enjoyed liberty long enough—that Prussia, in her concessions, had not been sufficiently humble and subservient—that the house of Braganza had not done enough to purchase the privilege of being undisturbed—and finally, that with regard to Spain there has been a great deal of error and precipitate judgment, and that when the facts are candidly examined, it will be found the emperor has conducted toward that country with justice and honor. If he do not believe all this, he must admit, that Bonaparte has sometimes been violent and unprincipled, and if he admit this, how can he be quite sure of his moderation and equity upon the ocean? There is no magic in that element to lull ambition to rest, or to change the nature of an unrelenting despot.

Why should a man, who has declared, and all whose subjects are ready to declare, that France is formed by nature to be the guardian and protector of nations, both by sea and land, neglect to exercise this protecting power on the ocean, in the same benificent manner, in which it has been exercised on the land?

On the other hand, let us now look back for the last twenty-

ty years, and ask, what nation has Great Britain oppressed? Did she demand any sacrifices from the monarch of the two Sicilies for twice preserving him on his throne? Did she seize Egypt for her own use, after she had rescued it by her valor from the predatory incursion of Bonaparte? Had she not a thousand motives to retain this key to the Red Sea, and to her Indian possessions? Did she take advantage of the weakness of Spain, or of Portugal, to seize upon their ultra-marine territories, which were absolutely in her power, and which are so important to her commerce?

But we come to what more immediately concerns us. Is it true, as M. de Montgaillard asserts, "that France has in vain, for more than a century past, made every effort to establish in Europe a maritime legislation, which would favor the navigation of every nation in time of peace, and insure that of neutrals in time of war?" And have "the British ministry, on the other hand, disavowed, outraged, and trampled on the rights of nations?" Again: Is it true, as he alleges, that "the French government has proclaimed the freedom of navigation, that it has at all times protected the maritime rights of nations, and that from Henry II to the last years of Louis XIV, all the royal ordinances of France have tended to the preservation of these rights?"

We say nothing about what France has "proclaimed." We freely acknowledge that no nation was ever more liberal in her proclamations and professions than France; but we do undertake to prove that France has been the greatest enemy of the maritime rights of nations, of any power in Europe; and that Great Britain, since she has swayed the sceptre of the ocean, with uncontrolled dominion, which has been the case ever since Lord Howe's victory in 1794, has exercised a moderation, and a spirit of justice, of which France would do well to follow the example; and remembering our own country, we are constrained most earnestly to desire, that the dominion of the sea may never pass into the hands of the nation which has so often proclaimed her respect for maritime rights, and by whom they have been so much oftener trampled upon.

* By an ordonnance of Louis XIV, passed in 1704, all trade of neutrals with the colonies of the enemies of France, or in productions of such colonies, was forbidden, under pain of confiscation. We add, that this was the first time this doctrine ever made its appearance; and it was the greatest, and most important inroad upon neutral rights, ever made by any nation. In 1744, in the reign of Louis XV, this statute or ordonnance was revised, and continued in force, and it was not till 1756, that Great Britain felt herself obliged to imitate the example of her then powerful rival. M. de Montgaillard admits, that France had no established marine, competent to cope with England, till the reign of Louis XIV. One of the first consequences of her maritime power was the inroad on the law of nations, as to the colonial trade, which we have cited above.

In 1778 France openly supported the armed neutrality, who in fact were her allies, because it was her interest that Great Britain should be humbled. In this spirit she professed herself the champion of the modern doctrine, that "the flag shall protect the goods," a doctrine very convenient to weak belligerents, but a direct violation of the ancient established law of nations.

To support this position, which she never meant to respect when it should not suit her convenience, she inserted an article to this effect in her treaty with us. The first war in which we were neutrals, was the war of the French revolution, which broke out between her and Great Britain in February, 1793. In May of that year, an American ship, bound from Charlestown to London, and laden with rice, the property of London merchants, was carried into France, and there claimed, under the clause of the treaty which makes the cargo free, if the flag be neutral; but the national convention, upon appeal, condemned the whole; and we undertake to say, that no one case can be found in the whole history of French piracies, in which the doctrine, so strenuously urged by her

* Our authorities are Valeu, in his *Code sur les ordon: de Louis XIV*, and the *ordonnances sur la marine de la France* published under the auspices of Bonaparte.

statesmen, of the freedom of merchandise under neutral flags, has been recognized by her courts. So far from this, several hundred cargoes have been condemned which were bona-fide neutral property, solely on the suspicion of their being the property of enemies. France is the only nation in Europe, which ever had the injustice and cruelty to condemn a neutral ship, because it carried enemy's property not contraband of war. In the war of 1793, she had such an ordonance, and in the war of 1798, since Bonaparte's friends were in power, she passed a decree, that if upon any neutral vessel should be found any goods, wares, or merchandize, the growth or product of Great Britain, whether owned by British subjects or not, as well the said goods, as also the ship, and all other goods laden on board such ship, should be lawful prize.

Can any parallel be found in the records of the "enemies of neutral commerce," to this fact, which we have cited from those of "its friends and protectors?"

But we need not go so far back for evidence of the moderation and justice of France. We know what have been the acts of the monarch, who sits himself up as leader in this crusade for the establishment of maritime rights. His decrees of Berlin and Milan are the proofs which he has given of his respect for these rights. The whole country of his enemy, her islands, her possessions in each hemisphere, even her productions are prescribed to neutrals. No excuse is received by this inexorable judge. No time can wash away the pollution of contact with British territory, or productions. He has declared, that the ship which has offended against his edicts shall be forever after denationalized. It shall cease to be neutral, not during the voyage in which she has offended, but forever. In ferocious contempt of all principle and precedent were these edicts enacted. And their author is the man whom some believe, when he professes to be the assertor of the freedom of the seas, and of the rights of neutrals.

But the practical illustrations of the laws of nations by France exceed those of her decrees. When admiral Villeneuve, closely pursued by Lord Nelson, burnt every Mano-

own vessel he saw, men, although they were stupefied at this unexampled defiance of all the wholesome usages of nations, which require a solemn, judicial decision in all cases of prize, yet made some excuse for him, from the imminent danger he was in, and the dread he felt that Nelson would discover his track. But what shall be said when we find that this practice has grown into an usage, and will soon be quoted to us, as a part of the law of nations, supported by innumerable precedents? France has continued this usage every year since the year 1805, to the time when we are writing.

Let us now examine the conduct of Great Britain, who, according to M. de Montgaillard, "disavows, outrages, and tramples on the rights of nations." When did she ever declare that any portion of French productions should contaminate both vessel and cargo? When did she ever declare that French produce should under all or any circumstances, be lawful prize? We know that she never retaliated this tyrannical portion of the Berlin and Milan decrees. When did she ever declare that the touching at a French port should forever denationalize the ship? We know that she had too much justice to imitate in this the example of her enemy. When did she ever burn or sink a neutral vessel, without trial or examination? Would this point of difference, even if it were the single one between her and her enemy, be nothing?

But the general character of a nation is to be judged by her general, and habitual conduct towards neutrals. If Great Britain were as jealous of neutral commerce, as her enemies in France, and in this country contend, if she entertained the disposition to exercise her maritime power with so little regard to the rights of other nations as is pretended, what has restrained her from sweeping all neutral commerce from the ocean? What has prevented her from exercising as despotism a control on that element, as France has done upon the continent? It is said, that she is envious of the power and commerce of the United States, why has she not effectually checked that power, and that lately increasing commerce? Was it the want of ability? Where has been the naval force, by which she could have been restrained?

Great Britain struck the death blow to the marine of her only rival, France, on the memorable first of June, 1794. Her fleets have since that time rode triumphant in every sea. Yet then the United States were poor and feeble. Their navigation amounted to about three hundred thousand tons— their revenue was seven millions of dollars per annum. Since Great Britain has chased France from the ocean, this country has advanced with giant pace. Her tonnage has quadrupled; her revenue, before it was affected by our own national policy, had doubled in twelve years. Her cities were filled with abundance, and her commerce made some approach to that of the mistress of the waves. These are facts, which cannot be contradicted, and they are facts, which, in regard to the dispositions of Great Britain toward neutral nations, will not deceive us.

How then has it happened, that our government has been so eager to be at enmity with this nation—a nation, whose whole captures, since the origin of our present complaints, do not, according to official statements, amount to one tenth part of the spoliations of France, and even fall short of those of the petty state of Denmark. How has it happened, that they have been so eager to enter into the views, to support the projects, and to defend the usurpations of the oppressor of Europe?

But we forbear—we do not know what will be the situation of our country, when that which we are now writing will be read. We return for a moment to the work before us to mention a circumstance worth notice—that the translation has internal marks of not being the work of one to whom our language is native. Some account of its original author, very different from that given by his translator, may be seen in a note below.*

* We have, while writing, received the following information respecting M. de Montgaillard, from a gentleman lately in the service of France, and the author of several political works. We place reliance on his authority.

“ This publication of M. de Montgaillard was probably designed by

ARTICLE 2.

A Treatise on Bridge Architecture; in which the superior advantages of the Flying Pendent Lever Bridge are fully proved. With an historical account and description of different bridges erected in various parts of the world, from an early period down to the present time. By Thomas Pope, architect, and landscape gardener. New-York, Alexander Niven, 1811, 8vo.

AT what period, and in what nation the arch was first made, use of in the construction of bridges, and whether among the ancients it was ever built upon those scientific principles, which have afforded such ingenious mathematical speculations, and have produced such magnificent structures in modern times, are subjects of curious and difficult research. The importance of these questions, however, is not confined to a treatise upon bridge architecture, but is connected with the

Bonaparte to delude the people of the continent, and to prevent their revolt against his cruel system, by shewing them that all hope of aid from England is fallacious. Fortunately however he has employed a man too well known, and too infamous to be believed by those who are acquainted with his history, and his former conduct. Though a person of obscure birth, M^r. de Montgaillard pretended to have stirred up a sufferer in the proscription of the French nobility; though in fact he was a Septembrizer, as they were called in France, or Robespierreean, as they were denominated here. He arrived in England in 1794, giving out that he had escaped from the guillotine. He published in London "The State of France in 1794," containing, with some truths, many false and exaggerated accounts of the misery of France. Being suspected to be what he was, a spy of France, he went to Germany, and offered his services to the prince of Condé, commanding the royal emigrant army; and acted afterwards as a double spy for the Bourbons, and the usurpers of their throne. After the arrest of Pichegru, Georges, Masson, and others, in 1804, he published in the Moniteur a long account of the discovery of the real or pretended conspiracy, in which they were accused of being engaged. In this he publicly avowed a sort of double espionage, and imputed the most false and absurd crimes to these victims of Bonaparte. Such are the outlines of the morals and honor of this author."

Mastery of the art of building from the earliest ages. Among those stupendous ruins now remaining upon the banks of the Nile, which are well known to have been erected long before the Greeks or Romans were acquainted with Egypt, there are no traces of it to be found. Thick walls, massive pillars, and ponderous lintels are generally discovered, the expense and labor of which would certainly have been avoided, if the nature and properties of the arch had been understood. In Grecian architecture it is seldom seen, while it makes a very essential part in that of the Romans. Domes and arches are sometimes met with in the ruins of Greece, but the aqueducts, bridges, theatres, and temples, constructed by the Romans, many of which have continued, and are in use at the present day, clearly show that they were acquainted with its theory and displayed great skill in its application.

Although the arch has been in use ever since the time of the Romans, beyond which period it is difficult accurately to trace its history, yet the semicircular form, or circular curve only was adopted; and this prevailed until the Gothic architecture arose, about the beginning of the twelfth century. The great changes introduced at this time into all the ornamental parts of churches, monasteries, and religious houses, to which the expense of building and the science of architecture were alone confined, were so dissimilar from the Grecian and Roman, as well as from the Saxon style, which immediately preceded it, that artists and antiquaries have not been able to discover its origin. The transition from the Roman to the Gothic, or rather from the round to the pointed arch, was very natural, and might have been produced by the accidental intersection of two semicircles. But the clustered columns, the hatched mouldings, and the delicate tracery, which embellished ecclesiastical architecture during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the pointed arch was first introduced into England, justify the supposition, that this most distinguishing character of what is called the Gothic style, was the result of design. Nor can it be satisfactorily shown, whether this form was first used in Europe, or whether it was brought

from Asia. How well established facts of its existence are all in Asia are to be found, but the instances of its having been very common in Europe, and particularly in England, are not numerable. The magnificent bridge at Isphahan, in Persia, called the Alla-verdi-chan, over the Zendereet, is a Gothic structure, but it is not known when or by whom it was built. It is five hundred and forty paces long, and has thirty three pointed arches. This, however, is supposed to have been erected long after the Gothic architecture prevailed in Europe, because there are many public buildings in this style at the same place, which are evidently the works of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. London bridge has pointed arches, and was built in the twelfth century, instead of the old one of wood; and the first stone bridge in England was erected a few years earlier, with circular arches, and from this circumstance called Bow bridge.

The next and most important change in the form of arches was made in modern days by the application of the elliptical curve, and that compounded of segments of circles having unequal radii. The Pont Royal, over the Seine at Paris, is an example of the former, and Blackfriars bridge, over the Thames, is a beautiful structure with arches composed of circular segments.

In the construction of wooden bridges, the history and the remaining works of the ancients afford nothing either for instruction or for imitation. How the centers, or supports, upon which the Romans turned their arches, were contrived, we have no means of determining. Carpentry, as a science, was probably little studied, and from the importance which seems to have been given to Caesar's celebrated bridge over the Rhine, we cannot presume they had any theoretic knowledge of timber trusses. Hence in Europe, at this time, there are few bridges of wood which display much skill in carpentry; and those few do not far exceed some works of the kind that have been erected in the United States. Our numerous bridges have sprung from the hazardous spirit of enterprise which distinguishes American architects, and their execution exhibits the-

nicest skill of the workman, as well as the ingenious invention of the artist. In proof of this we may adduce the few failures which have occurred, and those few in almost every instance have happened from the natural decay of the materials, or from the violence of the freshes, loaded with masses of ice, logs, and trees, in our rivers, over which great breadth of timber trusses are required.

As the beauty, strength, and cheapness of framed bridges depend upon the judicious distribution of the forces with which the struts and ties in every complicated system of carpentry are charged, engineers cannot bestow too much time and study upon this important subject. For all problems in carpentry may be considered as dependent upon one fundamental maxim, which is, that every piece of timber used in a frame or truss, must be made to connect or sustain its thrust or load in the direction of the grain or fibres which compose it. If the scantling is to bear a compressing force, it is called a strut, and if it is to resist a strain in the opposite direction, it is called a tie. Now it is evident that the operation of these two forces—whether they are to act in a horizontal, perpendicular, or oblique direction—comprehends the whole science of carpentry; but to adjust it so that each piece of the proposed truss shall have its just proportion of the load to which it is subjected, requires a correct knowledge of the doctrine of the composition and resolution of forces.

We have made these introductory remarks to the review of Mr. Pope's "Treatise on Bridge Architecture," for so he has ventured to call it, with a view to supply some hints to our readers, which they have a right to expect from the title, but which they will look for in vain in this work. Indeed we at first intended to have gone more fully into the history of the origin and progress of bridge building, but we have reflected that we owe something to a book of this size, and that we shall have opportunities enough to show the importance of the subject, as well as the disrespectful and trifling manner in which our author has treated this valuable and interesting art. Mr. Pope, full of his own invention, (of

whose value we shall speak hereafter,) has given us almost nothing of what ought to be found in a treatise on bridge architecture.

The volume before us contains nearly three hundred pages, including the preface and subscribers' names. It is divided into four parts. The first part, which fills somewhat more than half the number of pages, is called a History of Bridges, and contains accounts of a considerable number, with perspective views of several of the principal. The other parts relate to Mr. Pope's new inventions. Of the remaining number of pages, however, the preface occupies twenty two. In this the author says nothing about bridge architecture, nor inserts any thing that has more to do with the title-page of his book than with the title-deeds of his estate. We shall give one extract from it, principally as a specimen of his manner of writing. He is endeavouring to convince the reader that the unmeaning and discordant parts of a modern building, and the ill-judged distribution of apartments are sufficient evidence of a gross departure from "the true style of elegance" "of that propitious era, when lived that Roman oracle, Vitruvius, and who was styled in those days the father of architects."

" Then comes the numerous host of petty breaks, advancing and receding from each other, like children playing at bo-peep or hide-and-seek. At length we ascend in vision to the top of these fine decorated walls, and behold them capped with a cornice large enough for a child's baby-house, and which, by the help of a magnifying glass, we discover that it contains a number of ornamental members of various kinds; such as cima-reutas, cima-reversas, fillets, coronas, modillions, dentals, cavettos, facias, friezes, &c. &c. but which might as well have been one entire plane surface, for ought the public can distinguish, at even a very small distance. In descending from this elevated spot last mentioned, for we have not time to ascend higher, lest the ghastly smoke-tunnels, *et cetera*, should detain us too long; the eye of sensibility has to undergo all that dislocation and torture, which an unhappy victim would experience, who, having, in a moment of despair, precipitated himself from off some tremendous height down headlong on the forked points of projecting craggy rocks, that the merciless hand of quarriers had left behind them: for, take which road you will, nothing but broken surfaces is to be found, whereby to man-

gle and obstruct the path of vision. And all the reasons we can have assigned to us for the introduction of such a crowd of absurdities as is here witnessed, is to be summed up in the old depraved principles and sorry language of corrupt taste; namely, that one cannot have too much of a good thing. And we find that, according to the old proverb, one error begets another. Hence we also find, that instead of the spacious dome and lofty spires being erected for the canopy, or finishing of those temples intended for the worship of God, the great Architect of worlds, steeples of the most ridiculous and preposterous forms are substituted in lieu thereof; some of which, in form, may be justly compared to an antique pepper-box; being perforated with numerous holes, from the top half way downwards, for what purpose I know not, except it be to answer the use of a city pigeon-house. Others are again finished with a petty cupola, open on every side, to catch the rain and snow, in stormy seasons. These gross absurdities, and many more, that might be mentioned, not only tend to prove that the correct principles of the ancients are but little known in the present day, but also ill-bespeak the wisdom, grandeur, and correct taste of a great nation. Neither can such vile designs be furnished by men, who have ever learned what mechanical beauty meaneth." pp. 19, 20, 21.

However readily we should join our author in animadverting upon the uncouth and preposterous innovations made upon the art of building, in many respects, we still think that great credit is due to the present state of architecture in this country; and in the science of carpentry exhibited in the construction of bridges, some of our artists discover investigation and research, which we in vain look for in any other branch of the art. In the private dwelling houses of our countrymen, we see as much expense displayed, as can be found in buildings of the same description in any country in Europe; and in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, the houses which have been erected during the last fifteen years, whether single, or in blocks, are equal in magnitude and substantial workmanship, to the town residences of gentlemen in London. It is only in those parts which are intended for ornaments, that we display something to be censured. The balustrades, cornices, windows, and all the exterior appendages, of finial decorations in wood, which we make use of, are supplied in England in more simple forms, and wrought in the more durable materials of stone and iron.

In the historical part of Mr. Pope's work, he has taken up about one hundred and sixty pages, to give an account of a little more than a hundred bridges. He has shewn however as little acquaintance with this very interesting and extensive field of inquiry as can well be imagined. It is a compilation chiefly from Rees' Cyclopaedia, the Wonders of Nature and Art, Morse's Geography, &c. with very little original matter, furnished either by the observations or correspondence of the compiler. Besides many omissions, which shew how little industrious he has been in collecting information at home, he has overlooked many bridges in Europe, that as much deserve a place in his history as many he has inserted. In the vicinity of Rome, the Fabrician, called Fourhead—the Cestrian, called now the St. Bartholomews—the Senatorian—the Lepidan, near Ripa—the Triumphal—the Janiculan, called also Ponte Sisto—the Milvian, and many others, some of which are now remaining, would have furnished details interesting to antiquarians, as well as to artists. Yet these are not inserted. Neither has he collected all that the bold and hazardous enterprize of Chinese artists has erected; nor can we perceive why the bridge in Blenheim Park, which was constructed to embellish the pleasure grounds of the duke of Marlborough, should be mentioned, while those in Hyde Park, in the duke of Bedford's Park at Woburn Abbey, many iron bridges, and a very ancient and venerable bridge at Stratford upon Avon, and several others in England, are treated with neglect. Battersea, Chelsea, Kew, and Hampton Court Bridges, he merely mentions; the last he gives us a very correct representation of, and it "is a most beautiful and picturesque structure." But all of them, and one, which we have had an opportunity of examining, at Southampton, though built of wood, are covered with gravel, limestone, or broken flints. This peculiarity of building bridges with gravel carriage-ways, instead of planks, Mr. Pope has not particularly noticed; though, if we may judge from a promising experiment now making in this vicinity, which we shall presently notice, we think our countrymen will be

indebted to it for a very simple and economical improvement in the art of bridge building.

As Mr. Pope has given us nothing by way of history which might not have been compiled by any country schoolmaster, we will give one instance of his carelessness, which is certainly interesting to those who like to trace the progress of this very important art. Bow Bridge, over the river Lea, near London, was the first that was built in England with a stone arch. It was erected in the time of Henry I, through the influence of his queen, Matilda, about 1140.

"This Matilda," says Leland, who gives the particulars of its foundation, "when she saw the forde to be dangerous to them that travelled by the old foord, over the river of Lue (for she herself had been well washed in the water,) caused two stone bridges to be builded, of the which, one was situated over Lue, at the head of the towne of Stratford, now called Bow, because the bridge was arched like a bow, a rare piece of worke, for before that time the like had never been seen in England. The other over the little brooke, commonly called Chavelse Bridge. She made the king's highway of gravel between the two bridges."

Although the work before us is very defective as a "treatise," for so Mr. Pope chooses to name it, yet it contains short accounts of a few bridges which will amuse the reader.

In China there is a remarkable bridge, having but one arch, built of white stone.

It "has obtained the name of the flying bridge, from its being built over an extengive river, from one mountaint to another, and consisting of one single arc, five hundred cubits, or seven hundred and fifty feet high from the water, and four hundred cubits, or six hundred feet span. This immense arc is semieircular, the stones that form the archivolt are from seven to twelve feet in length, the voussoirs are intradossed and extradossed from a centre like unto the arches in Europe, and the whole masonry of this bridge executed in a style that would do credit to the artificers of any country." p. 52.

The celebrated bridge over the Rhine at Schaffhausen was of such a singular construction, if we may believe the whole of the common account of it, (which however, we confess, appears to us as well as to Mr. Pope nearly incredible,) and was built

by such a humble workman, Ulrich Grubenman, that we shall venture to insert an account of it.

" Several stone bridges had been carried away by the rapidity of the torrent, when a carpenter of Appenzel offered to throw a wooden bridge of a single arc across the river, which is nearly four hundred feet wide. The magistrates, however, required that it should consist of two arcs, and that the middle pier of the bridge should be employed for that purpose; but although the architect was obliged to obey, he contrived to leave it doubtful whether the bridge was supported by the middle pier, and whether it would not have been equally safe, if formed after his own plan. A man of the lightest weight felt it vibrate under him, though waggons heavily laden might pass over it without danger. Its mechanism, though simple, was most extraordinary, and afforded a striking proof of the abilities of the man who projected and executed it, without the least knowledge of mathematics, and, in fact, without the least pretensions to literature. This curious bridge was finished in less than three years, at the expense of four thousand pounds; but it was burnt by the French troops, when they evacuated Schaffhausen, after being defeated by the Austrians, in the spring of seventeen hundred and ninety nine." p. 58.

The east iron bridges, which have been erected in England within the last forty years, have opened an entirely new era in the art. Those at Coalbrook Dale, Wearmouth, Bridgewater, and Stanes are the most remarkable. Besides these, there are two at Bristol, and one at Buildwas, over the Severn; all of which Mr. Pope has described. Bridges of this kind are frequently made on a small scale for canals, and in private grounds; and there are two beautiful constructions of this kind in the public gardens at Bath, over the Kennet and Avon canal. The only east iron bridge on the continent, is the bridge of the Louvre, at Paris, over the Seine, called also the Pont des Arts. It is five hundred and sixteen feet long, between the abutments, and rests upon eight piers. Mr. Pope has given a long account of this work, extracted from the *Bulletin des Sciences*. Our readers will probably be gratified with the following description of the Wearmouth Bridge, as it is much the largest that has ever been made of east iron.*

* This is the bridge, an account of a part of whose construction Dr. Paley introduces for the purpose of illustration in the eighth chapter of his *Natural Theology*.

"The bridge consists of a single arc, whose span is two hundred and thirty six feet; and as the springing-stones at each side project two feet, the whole opening is two hundred and forty feet. The arc is a segment of a circle of about four hundred and forty four feet diameter; its versed sine is thirty four feet, and the whole height from low water about one hundred feet, admitting vessels from two to three hundred tons burden to pass under, without striking their masts. A series of one hundred and five blocks form a rib; and six of these ribs compose the breadth of the bridge. The spandrels, or the spaces between the arc and the road-way, are filled up by cast-iron circles, which touch the outer circumference of the arc, and at the same time support the road-way, thus gradually diminishing from the abutments towards the centre of the bridge. There are also diagonal iron bars, which are laid on the tops of the ribs, and extended to the abutments, to keep the ribs from twisting. The superstructure is a strong frame of timber planked over to support the carriage-road, which is composed of marl, lime-stone, and gravel, with a cement of tar and chalk immediately upon the planks to preserve them. The whole width of the bridge is thirty two feet. The abutments are masses of almost solid masonry, twenty four feet in thickness, forty two in breadth at bottom, and thirty seven at top. The south pier is founded on the solid rock, and rises from about twenty two feet above the bed of the river. On the north side, the ground was not so favourable; so that it was necessary to carry the foundation ten feet below the bed. The weight of the iron in this extraordinary fabric amounts to two hundred and sixty tons; forty six of these are malleable, and two hundred and fourteen cast. The entire expense for it was twenty seven thousand pounds." pp. 116, 117.

Having thus briefly noticed the historical part of Mr. Pope's book, we shall proceed to give a short account of three different and important plans of bridges, which he has not mentioned.

Of the first kind are the floating bridges, which are seen on the Salem, and Worcester turnpikes. They are made by laying large sticks of timber upon the water, from shore to shore; the buoyancy of which is sufficient to support the weight of the planks and railings, together with the weight of any load that may ordinarily be carried over them. When first made, they sink only to small depths, but after a few years they absorb so much water, that they settle so as

to bring the planks on a level with the water. These are very easily made. The timbers will last a great many years, and when they need repairs, or lose their buoyancy new pieces can in the most expeditious manner be substituted. Over ponds and sheets of water not liable to be much disturbed by currents, tides, or tempests, the utility of this plan is very obvious.

The second new and valuable improvement in constructing bridges in this country was introduced by Mr. Craigie, in 1809. It is seen in the canal bridge over Charles river, connecting Cambridge with Boston, between the Charles River, and West Boston bridges. The piles and underwork are similar to those bridges, only placed at a less distance, to give sufficient strength to the stringers, which lay upon the caps, and support the carriage way, and foot walks. Instead of the carriages passing upon planks, as they do on the other bridges in the vicinity, they move over a level, hard road. Upon the stringers was laid a flooring of common inch boards, over the whole length of the bridge. A composition of clay, lime, and salt, in nearly equal parts, and mixed with water to a consistency that admitted its being used with a shovel, was then spread over the boards; next to this was a course of planks, four inches thick, with the same composition filling all the joints between them, and covering them to the depth of one or two inches. A second flooring of boards was laid upon this last stratum. Upon these boards clay was spread from two to four inches thick, and above all, gravel to the depth of about eight inches was laid, and rolled with a very heavy roller, thus forming a firm road over the whole length of the bridge. The foot walks on each side are raised a little above the level of the road, and are planked. As this is the first bridge of the kind, we believe, in this country, it was considered as an experiment merely; and we can congratulate the public, that the success of it, from a recent examination of the work, may be considered no longer doubtful.

The third plan, which we think deserves a place here, is the one that Mr. Towne conceived, to supply the middle arch

of Andover bridge, over the Merrimack. That which had been carried away by a fresh was a framed arch. Mr. Towne was immediately employed to construct another, which he executed with no other materials than pine boards an inch thick. The arch was a segment of a large circle, the chord of which was one hundred and ten feet. A pattern was formed from a board, having the necessary curve, and about twelve inches wide, and of such a length as could at least expense be cut from boards that are not very difficult to obtain on the Merrimack. One edge of the pattern was concave, for the under, and the other convex, for the upper surface of the arch, and each end was accurately sawed so as to correspond with a radius of the great circle by which the curve was drawn. By laying this pattern on the rough boards, one after another, and marking out the form on each to which they were to be cut, the whole business of preparing them was very plain and expeditious. Having thus provided the board arcs, ten or twelve of which were required to reach from one pier to the other, he proceeded to put up the arch in the following manner. A single course of the boards was elevated to its place, having a firm stepping upon the middle of the internal edges of the piers, and supporting itself by lateral pressure upon the piers in the same manner that a stone or brick arch is supported. When this course was raised, it formed the middle series of perpendicular arcs, and from this, on each side, were successively nailed, with good wrought nails, the other boards, breaking joints, until a sufficient number of them was added to give the proper width to the bridge. When thus finished, the arch was covered with a sheathing, upon which the planked road way, and side railings were constructed.

This very ingenious and novel plan is applicable to many situations where framed bridges are generally built at much greater expense. Unfortunately the arch had not a fair trial. It fell, soon after it was erected, into the river and floated down the stream in one entire piece, except being a little fractured at the ends, and a well constructed arch of carpentry was

shortly afterwards substituted in its stead. Mr. Towne supposed that an unlucky oversight in commencing the work was the cause of its fall, as the piers did not seem to have given way in any part, nor was any defect or weakness discovered in the arch after its descent. In building it, the first course of arcs had its whole support by lateral pressure on the piers; but as the two next courses were nailed to the middle arcs, one on each side, these were partly supported by their connexion with them, while the middle arcs, being mutually aided by the same connexion, lost part of their power of lateral pressure, and the whole three courses thus joined, produced an effect upon the piers not unlike what would have been produced if the arch had been cut out of one solid plank, three inches thick and one hundred and ten feet long. Each successive course of boards, being supported by nails, would have no lateral pressure on the piers, and its weight would be distributed over the whole preceding arcs. By this operation, the weight and the consequential lateral thrust, would gradually increase at and near the first or middle course of boards, and when the whole were nailed up, the entire weight of the compounded arch would press on the middle of the piers with greatest force, and the four external angles of the arch would contribute very little to its support. For, supposing the board arcs or segments to be all put up in their places without nailing, they would have a lateral strain upon the piers on the common principles of a stone arch. But when the boards came to be all firmly combined by nails, the arch would have little lateral strain, but would rest with a perpendicular force, nearly equal to its whole weight, upon the piers, like a straight stick of timber. This is certainly a very natural way of accounting for the accident. For, as Mr. Towne justly concluded, the arch not having a continued, equal support along the edges of the piers upon which it stepped, but chiefly on the two centre points, it must either rock or vibrate so as to cause its being thrown from its exact balance, or by its accumulated weight on those points force the piers to yield sufficiently to let it slip down between them. Probably both causes con-

tributed to the fall. Had the work been commenced from the sides and continued to the centre, instead of beginning at the centre and being carried to the sides, it would perhaps now be standing, and the value of this experiment might be fully estimated.

Next to the historical part, Mr. Pope gives the description of his Patent Flying Pendent Lever Bridge, with bills of timber, scantlings, and expenses for a bridge of any length from two hundred to two thousand four hundred feet, together with extracts from the ingenious experiments of Buffon, Muschenbroek, and others, to illustrate "the unerring principles on which his invention is founded." His whole desription, however, is so cut up and mangled by propositions, scholia, corollaries, and notes, that it was with great difficulty, even with the assistance of the plates, that we could obtain as satisfactory a comprehension of his plan in forty pages, as we presume we are able to give our readers in the compass of two. To build a bridge of any length from two hundred to two thousand feet, with no other points of support than the two abutments, and on no other mechanical principle than the lever, is the problem which Mr. Pope imagines he has completely solved; and every lover of the arts who does not discover and acknowledge the surprising advantages of his bridge over all others, he seems to consider an outlaw from the pleasures of science; and every principle of carpentry is set down as heterodox that does not contribute its little aid to uphold his gigantic plan.

His two first propositions discover so much profoundness of thought and clearness of reasoning, that we will venture to extract them, as specimens of his powers of demonstration, and then proceed to give an abstract of his invention. The first relates to the name. He begins with—

"PROPOSITION 1.

"The principles, shape, construction, and extent of this bridge differ wholly from all others before invented; and, it may with propriety be termed, a Flying Pendent Lever Bridge.

"*Scholium.*—First, because the arms of this bridge spring

from the abutment on each side, and extend over a river or space, till they meet in the centre, and form one single arc, without ceintres, or support of any kind, while building, save the abutments from which they spring.

"Secondly, they fly out and are suspended in the air. Thirdly, they hang or jut over. Fourthly, they are supported above the ground.

"Note.—These terms are to be understood, as chastely applying only to this sort of bridge in particular, as it differs wholly from the ancient military flying bridges, which were constructed of pontons, leather boats, beams, hollow casks, blown bladders, and the like, commonly called *pont volant*, or *pont ductarius*." pp. 203, 204.

Our readers being thus, we presume, satisfied that Mr. Pope has given his bridge an appropriate name, the way is in some measure cleared for—

"PROP. 2.

"*Principles*, 1st.—The principles of this bridge, as a whole, are founded on the Lever, No. 1.

"*Scholium*.—Each half bridge, before it is united in the centre, is to be considered one body; then the fulcrum or prop, if it were intended to move, would be between the weight, which is the abutment, and the power, which is the projecting arm of the half bridge.

"*Corollary*.—Therefore the abutment, on all occasions, must be of such weight as will be more than sufficient to counterpoise the said projecting arm while building, and also all the men and materials employed in the erection of the same." p. 204.

From each side of the river, where a bridge upon this plan is to be raised, the two arms are to project and meet in the middle. The face of the abutment becomes the fulcrum, the abutment is the weight, and the weight of the arm with whatever load it may carry constitutes the power. So long as the weight of masonry in the abutment, therefore, shall continue to overpower the influence of gravitation in the arm, which extends half way over the river, so long the bridge will be sustained. As one solid stick of timber having the requisite size and length to form one arm of a bridge twelve hundred feet long is pretty difficult to procure even in American forests, Mr. Pope proposes to form a compound arm, by

combining many pieces of timber. Each arm consists of two ribs. Each rib is made up of four longitudinal levers, compounded of many pieces of timber by means of scarfing, and projecting one above the other from the abutment towards the middle of the river. These four levers are not parallel to each other but form an angle, the upper one being about fourteen feet above the lower one at the abutment, and approaching to within about six feet of it at the middle point of the bridge, where they are connected with the end of a similar arm from the opposite shore. The upper lever he calls the "*cap plate*," the lower one, the "*archivolt rail*," and the two intermediate ones, "*horizontal levers or longitudinal needles*." As these four levers are placed in a vertical plane, he unites and equalises their several forces by what he names the "*angular levers, or voussoirs*." These are short sticks of timber bolted to the longitudinal beams on each side of the rib, beginning at the abutment, and continued to the end of the arm. The first is fixed at the face of the abutment, which is made inclining, like the side of a pyramid, with an angle of forty-five degrees, and all the rest follow in close order as they can be put, having their joining sides cut or tabled into corresponding notches, or scars, so that they "support and inclose the longitudinal levers, by resting in each other on their end grain tufts, cut out of the solid timber." This gives the angular levers an oblique, instead of a perpendicular position, except at the middle of the bridge, where they are made in the shape of the voussoirs, or arch stones, at the crown of a stone bridge, the middle one being perpendicular. When a rib is thus formed, the longitudinal levers are all concealed from the sight by the voussoirs, and two ribs placed at such distance from each other as the width of the proposed bridge shall require, and connected by flooring timbers and joists, constitute one arm; and another, made in the same manner from the opposite abutment, completes the bridge.

Having thus attempted to give an intelligible account of Mr. Pope's invention, we will now shew the process of building the bridge. When the first pieces of the longitudinal levers

are let into the abutment, extending many feet back, and secured by keys and cross-ties in the internal part of the masonry, they project but a little distance from the face of the stone work. The first voussoirs are then bolted on, and the rest follow successively, one on each side of the rib, to near the end of the pieces let into the abutment, when additional pieces of timber are united to the first by scarfing, and the voussoirs are continued: thus gradually extending the longitudinal levers as the voussoirs are one after another put in their places. All the work of erecting this bridge is to be carried on from the upper surface of the frame, and the angular levers are let down to their proper position by the help of a crane; and a ladder hangs by the side, on which the workmen descend to drive the bolts.

Should our readers have thus obtained a correct notion of Mr. Pope's plan, we have no doubt they will also readily perceive its numerous defects. A combination of timbers disposed in this manner for an arm one thousand feet long, having one end only secured in the abutment, in open defiance of all the rules of carpentry, is certainly a bold attempt upon the credulity of the age. Mr. Pope seems to imagine that by the interposition of the voussoirs, the whole gravitating power of the arm will be referred or transmitted to the face of the abutment, and that the zigzag line into which their uniting sides are cut will afford a support to their own weight. He has not sufficiently considered that the fulcrum to each of those numerous levers is on the cap plate, which in fact is also the lever to which the power is applied; and that its operation will be to press towards the abutment with a part of its power, and the other part will act in a perpendicular direction tending to bend or break the horizontal beams. The modification of these two strains will depend upon the distance from the abutment at which they are applied. Near the face of it the lateral pressure will be the greatest, and the pressure downwards will be the least. At the extremity of the arm the perpendicular force will necessarily be the most effectual, and the lateral force will be distributed along the whole

length of the arm and become almost nothing towards the abutment. This is true only as to the effect, for the same law of the lever applies at any point of the arm. For instance, let an arm one thousand feet long be supposed to be erected. The middle voussoir is five hundred feet from the abutment, and inclines forty five degrees. Now all the weight of that part of the arm beyond the voussoir is acting by the common principle, upon the angular lever having its fulcrum at the bolt which secures it to the cap plate. But it is also bolted to the archivolt rail and the two intermediate needles; and whatever tendency either of these four longitudinal levers may have to fall, must at the same time be common to the whole, and the fulcrum will descend with the rest. The power of gravity will be divided. A part will be thrown off toward the abutment, and a part must have a direction downwards. Near or at the face of the abutment the unelastic nature of the masonry will not permit the fulcrum of the first angular lever or voussoir to descend at all, although the proportion of its lateral to its perpendicular force will be the same as at the middle voussoir. But at the middle voussoir; owing to the yielding and elastic nature of the frame between it and the abutment, the fulcrum with all the accompanying parts must sensibly settle, and the lateral force will be spent before its effects can ever reach the abutment. The same may be said of any other angular lever beyond it.

It is evident that, whatever may be the force operating at any given point through the whole length of the arm, the cap plate and archivolt rail are each suffering a strain at the abutment, equal to about half the whole gravitating power of the arm. That which is exerted upon the former is drawing it out, and that which acts upon the latter crowds or compresses it against the abutment. These two violent actions would resemble what actually takes place in the superior and inferior fibres of a stick of wood when in the act of breaking. The first are drawn asunder, and the last are crowded together; so a splinter flies off by force of the compression. Suppose then the whole arm of the bridge to be formed from one solid piece

of timber, the action of the force which would be employed to break it would be the greatest at the upper and lower course of fibres. How immense the power of this lever bridge would be, we shall leave to the imagination of the reader.

Defective and unphilosophical as we consider Mr. Pope's whole theory to be, the execution of it, in any tolerable conformity to his principles, would baffle the most ingenious efforts of human skill. The great number of scarfed joints in the longitudinal levers, the zigzag line into which the voussoirs are cut, the weight of this extensive mass of oak timber, and the elasticity of the whole arm, will not only combine to open the joints in some places so as to weaken if not interrupt the line of support near the abutment, but essentially change the form of the arm to a figure, having its superior and inferior lines formed into curves. The effects of these powerful causes would be seen in the crowding together of the voussoirs at their lower ends, and opening them at the top, and would continue to become gradually more observable as the work advanced. By this inevitable defect in the practical execution of the plan, the touching surfaces of the angular levers would be reduced, and the force of lateral pressure be confined to the points in contact at their lower extremities; and these spreading joints would become yawning receptacles for the seeds of decay, long before the bridge could be completed.

As upon the construction and weight of the abutments the whole bridge must depend for its steady suspension over the river, the patentee has exercised his fancy in contriving how to render them useful, and turn to some profitable account the enormous expense of building them. He proposes in some cases, that they should be made in the form of a pyramid—in others a tower for each rib will answer, and generally the whole may, he thinks, be an extensive range of warehouses, the rents of which would in a great degree reimburse the expenses; if indeed there are adventurous merchants enough in any city to trust themselves, with all their wares and merchandize, to the portentous restlessness of this tremendous lever.

In commencing the abutments the same persecuting spirit

of invention which attends Mr. Pope in his aerial superstructure still haunts him in the regions of mud. To save expense, and secure the foundations from all danger of spreading or sinking, when deep and soft strata render the work of the mason difficult, he proposes an entirely new plan, which we presume no workman ever thought of before, and we are confident no one will ever attempt to put in practice. His method is, to make the under surface of the foundation concave instead of plane; so that, as he imagines, when the abutment has any tendency to settle, the yielding substance will be compressed within the hollow surface, and not forced out from under it in an horizontal direction, as "in the old delusive plan of building abutments and piers of bridges." "The concave arcs," he says, "suited to the under part of each abutment of the different bridges, will vary according to the defects evident in the foundation." "Some will be most suitable, if in the shape of a concave segment of a circle,"—"others will be preferable in an elliptical form."—"Others again will accomplish an equal security, by the under part of the abutment being in the form of a concave groined arch, suited to a stone pyramid,"—"and for an abutment in a spherical form, no shape is more appropriate to the grand object than a hollow cone." Now this is invention with a witness, and the youngest apprentice of an ordinary stonelayer might laugh while he hears Mr. Pope seriously describe this part of his "sublime plan."

As to the style and literary merits of the book before us we can say nothing in its praise. There is throughout the whole volume a vein of ill-humour, growing, we presume, out of the disappointment and chagrin, which Mr. Pope has experienced from the cold reception which his plan has met with. On this occasion we should be inclined to sympathize with him, if he had not produced a prejudice against himself, both by the insufferable vanity with which he has brought his invention before the public, and by the supercilious, sneering remarks which he makes upon other artists, and

the still more decisive tone in which he condemns almost all bridges erected upon any other plan.

Sometimes he speaks of his invention in the impertinent verbiage of passing empires, and is content with nothing short of "sublime plan," "the unerring principles on which this invention is founded," "stupendous plan," &c. His "remarks" upon the history of bridges, abound with the fulsome homage his vanity pays to his inventive powers. Commenting upon the singular bridge at Babylon, he says, "the bricks wherewith the arc in question was built, we read, were of large dimensions, and, instead of the sorry stuff profanely called mortar or cement, which our modern builders use in the present day," &c. the ancients had the skill to use bitumen or glutinous slime to set their bricks in. Now we should like to know what familiarity Mr. Pope can pretend to have with antiquity, that will warrant him thus sneeringly to reproach the moderns. We do not think there is any propriety in calling our mortar and cement, which are probably full as durable as any used by the ancients, sorry stuff, merely because they do not happen to become so hard and impenetrable as the bricks and stone which are laid in them; nor can we perceive that there is any profanity in calling things by their right names.

Sometimes he ridicules the most simple, economical, and useful structures in the United States. The following are among his remarks upon Caesar's bridge over the Rhine:— "This kind of scaffolding in water, which by some in the present day is profanely called bridge architecture, is supposed to have been first introduced by Julius Cæsar." But "the timber piles or scaffold poles of this, his formation" being driven in an oblique instead of a perpendicular direction, it was sure to prove much stronger. As "a certain strength in these silly formed structures is highly necessary to their existence, and which strength is alone to be derived from the degrees of strut or brace which the standards possess, we are led to conclude that there has been a great falling off in this sublime mode of bridge building." "However," says

Mr. Pope, "the public ought greatly to rejoice," if the defects and decay of this kind of building be the signal for the speedy abolition of such bridges in this country; and he then expresses his "most fervent wish," "that the beautiful rivers of America shall no longer be annoyed with these and other nuisances." To give in one passage a full specimen of the author's unqualified encomiums upon his own bridge, he thus closes his observations upon cast iron bridges—

" It would be a waste of time and paper to descant further on the various absurd modes of bridge-building, which emanate from the old system, where strength is made to depend solely on the lateral grain of timber; and although many persons will, no doubt, deem it presumptuous in the author to make the assertion, yet he does *confidently* assert, and fears not he shall very soon be able to prove, that every other manner of bridge invented before the present day, whether the work of a *VITRUVIUS* or a *Burr*, is but chaff or dross comparatively with that of the author's invention. When prejudice and infatuation can be overcome, and a proper encouragement given to ingenuity and sound knowledge, the 'baseless fabrics' which are every year thrown over, or rather *into*, our rivers, will vanish, and 'leave not a wreck behind.' " p. 195.

" We shall now leave, for the present," says our very modest author, "any further remarks on the different bridges described in this work; and proceed to the illustration of a more important invention for bridges, than has ever before been recorded in history."

And we also will soon leave Mr. Pope and his bridge, after passing to the "Conclusion," where he has repeated, in eight pages of rhyme, the wonderful properties of his invention, and the rules and directions which must be observed in its erection. He thus opens his poem, with the novelty and astonishing merit of his invention.

" Let the broad arc the spacious Hudson stride,
And span Columbia's rivers far more wide;
Convince the world America begins
To foster arts, the ancient work of kings.
Stupendous plan! which none before e'er found,
That half an arc should stand upon the ground,

Without support while building, or a rest;
 This caused the theorist's rage and sceptic's jest.
 Like half a rainbow rising on one shore,
 While its twin partner spans the semi o'er,
 And makes a perfect whole, that need not part,
 Till time has furnished us a nobler art." p. 281.

Next we have the place in which this bridge may be built, and its effect upon river navigation.

"One single arc, whate'er the span may be,
 Of river, lake, or swamp, or arm of sea.
 Is all it needs, so wondrous is it plann'd,
 To form a spacious bridge from land to land.
 The towering poles of navies in full sail
 May pass this arc in e'er so brisk a gale;
 And ships at anchor ride beneath the arm,
 Or moor to shelter'd wharf, secure from harm.
 Thus navigation chastely is preserved,
 And sons of commerce lose not their reward." p. 281.

"The length of butment's not, as men have told,
 So long to cut a city in two-fold;
 For rivers North and East may have a bridge,
 And streets called South and West may bound their ridge."

p. 282.

Here the author probably alludes to the ridicule and abuse which the ill-natured wits and "sceptics" of New-York have bestowed upon his plan. His abutments may be a—

"Consolidation of a mass of stone,
 Or towers erect, like those which China own;
 But best when butments form a group of stores,
 To house the treasure brought from distant shores:
 The rent they furnish pays the building's cost,
 Which in all other bridges must be lost." p. 282.

The inventive mind of the poet is not satisfied with the usual mode of doing anything. He invents a "chain bar arc" which has no traces of links; is composed of several detached pieces of iron; is wholly unlike a bar; and is bounded by straight lines instead of curved. He contrives a "lever crane," and proposes a new method of making what by po-

etic licence he calls mortar and cement, though a few pages before in prose he says it has been " profanely " called such by the moderns.

" The mortar all is ground within a mill;
The only labor is the hods to fill;
One horse and boy for twenty men provide
With cement better made, more cheap beside." p. 283.

Next to this we are informed, that—

" The arms of bridge are built of stone or wood,
But iron, cast, would furnish twice the good;
Its extra beauty and its lesser weight
Confound the pride and ignorance of the great." p. 283.

Although Mr. Pope seems to be fully convinced that his bridge will be more durable than any other wooden structure hitherto invented, he admits, reluctantly however, that with all other human inventions his plan is exposed to the common attacks of time, and the decrepitude of old age.

" When Time, with hungry teeth, has wrought decay,
Then what will sceptics be disposed to say?
Why, ' down the bridge must fall, without repair,
And all the author's pleadings will be air.'
Not so, he's better armed than you expect,
For nought can bring to ruin but neglect;
A mean's provided, which can never fail,
To keep up strength, whate'er the bridge may ail:
Each log of wood, where'er its station be,
Is safely shifted for a sounder tree,
With greater ease removed than heretofore
A piece could be repair'd in an old floor.
For lasting age this bridge will far exceed
All others ever built; they rot with speed." p. 285.

We suppose the specimens we have given from Mr. Pope's " Conclusion " will have satisfied our readers. For ourselves we set about as high a value on his inventive powers in poetry as in bridge building.

ARTICLE 3.

1. *Letter to the moderator of the New Hampshire Association.*
By Timothy. Boston, Watson & Bangs. 1812. 12mo.
pp. 15.
2. *A Defence of truth and character against ecclesiastical intolerance.* Extracts of some letters occasioned by proceedings of the Hopkinton Association, and of the New Hampshire General Association. Concord, N. H. I. & W. R. Hill. 1812. 12mo. pp. 24.
3. *The Stranger's Apology for the General Associations, supposed to have been written by Elias Monitor, author of some anonymous publications, &c.* Boston, W. Wells. 1812. 12mo. pp. 28.
4. *A Parable, occasioned by a late portentous phenomenon.* By the Pilgrim Good-Intent. Concord, N. H. I. & W. R. Hill. 1812. 12mo. pp. 24.
5. *A respectful Address to the trinitarian clergy, relating to their manner of treating opponents.* By Noah Worcester. Boston, Bradford & Read. 1812. 12mo. pp. 50.

THE work of Mr. Noah Worcester, which we noticed in our last number, his *Bible News*,* has not produced any direct answer that has come to our knowledge. It is not to be inferred however, that it has not excited any notice or animadversion among the friends of the doctrine which it opposes. There are other modes of attack besides those of reasoning, and other ways of preventing the effect of a book beside that of confuting its arguments. Its author is receiving some share

* Mr. Worcester has published a second edition of his *Bible News*, (Boston, Bradford & Read,) in which there are some omissions, and some things added. Of the omissions, the principal that we have noticed is the whole of the seventh Letter of the second Part. Among various additions there is a new and interesting letter of twenty pages, "on modern trinitarian views of the Son of God, with the general dissenience respecting three persons in one God." John v. 7. was in the first edition explained as a part of scripture; but Mr. Worcester has in the present shortened the letter relating to it, having seen evidence which fully satisfies him that it is a forgery.

of that censure, and obloquy, and persecution, which have in a greater or less degree always been the lot of those who have opposed any religious doctrine, whether true or false, whatever may have been their motives, or the integrity of their character, or the force of the arguments they have used. It is to this, that the pamphlets relate, which are the subject of our review.

We do not think however that in our age, and especially in our country, there is much danger that the progress of rational inquiry in regard to religious doctrines can be very essentially impeded, or its effects prevented, though they may be hindered. There are among us no religious establishments of any considerable importance, to give support to error; to bribe men by their honors and emoluments into the defence of any theological propositions as articles of belief, or into silence concerning them as articles of peace. The civil power does not intrude itself to become the arbiter of theological disputes, and to inflict on the one party or the other its disabilities and punishments. Nor even if these mischiefs did exist, should we in our age fear for the cause of national religion. The gradual progress of intellectual improvement, and of correct modes of reasoning will have its effect upon religion as well as upon every other subject. While philosophy and good sense are extending their bloodless victories in every direction, and are continually confirming the evidences, and establishing the authority of Christianity; they will not leave us under the dominion of those absurdities and errors which have so long been connected with it. Since the great effort to free Christianity from its corruptions made at the reformation, and upon the principles then established, they have in truth been gradually, and are now, we think, more rapidly progressing. The light that has risen upon the world, cannot be driven backward in its course; and the portentous absurdities, the forms of gloom and terror that have haunted the darkness will disappear before it.

But though we think that the time will arrive, when our religion shall be far better understood by the great body of

Christians, and shall far more effectually produce its beneficial effects, and when a degree of virtue and happiness of which the world has yet afforded no example will be the consequence; yet this will be perhaps long after we shall have passed away. The prospect is as yet distant and dim. There are various causes even in our own country which will impede the progress of knowledge and of moral improvement. There are various causes which will make men cling strongly to their religious opinions, beside the truth and importance of these opinions. When a man has long valued himself, not upon his learning, his fairness, or his habits of investigation, but upon his having received certain popular doctrines in the most orthodox sense, it can hardly be expected, that he will readily give up the sources of his pride, and self-complacency, descend from his elevation, and humble himself, to become a learner, to become the disciple, and to share the disgrace of one whom it is so much easier, and so much more in accordance with his former habits of mind for him to look down upon as an heretic. It is still less to be hoped that he will do this, if it should appear to him that the sacrifice to be made is not merely of his reputation, but of his worldly interests, and that his comfortable subsistence depends upon his own reception, or upon the general prevalence of the opinions which he has heretofore maintained. But the case may be even more hopeless. The man of whom we speak may have so long disused his reasoning powers, that they are without vigor. He may have so little the habit of investigation, that he shrinks away from its labor on subjects the most important; he may have relied so much on the argument from authority, that he is incapable of feeling the force of any other; and what in an active and healthy mind would produce unhesitating conviction, may affect him no more than he is capable of affecting such a mind in return. There are many men in whom some or all of these causes powerfully operate; and there are other men of fairer and of stronger minds, who yet seem to have a general dread of examination and inquiry upon religious subjects, who are disposed at least to confine

them within certain limits, who seem to think that if they are suffered to transgress these limits, there is no knowing what mischief they may effect, or what destruction they may perpetrate. There are men, who, before trusting themselves to the guidance of their reason in matters of religion, are disposed to stipulate that they shall not be led beyond a certain distance from prevailing opinions. All they can, for the most part, bring themselves to, is to receive the popular doctrines in their least offensive form. They must use the language of orthodoxy, though they are willing to explain it as consistently as they can with what, if there were no bias upon their minds, they would believe to be the truth. They have that dread of innovation and departure from authority, which to a certain degree is so useful, but which makes them regard with more uneasiness and dislike such as maintain new truths, however important, than such as remain content with established error.

But there are other causes, beside what we have mentioned, that may produce an improper though an excusable prejudice in favor of certain doctrines. In the minds of many they acquire an importance and a sanctity of which they are entirely unworthy, by connecting themselves in strong association with all their religious habits, sentiments, and feelings. It has from this cause been too common for the best of men to identify their opinions with religion itself, and to consider as her enemies all who have opposed their belief. Even such a man as Watts was obliged to invoke the aid of charity to find Locke* in heaven, and only ventured to place him there, and not to assign to the regions of eternal wretchedness, because he concluded from some passages in one of his commentaries, "that he was no Socinian." Similar instances might easily be produced; and humiliating as they are to us as men and as Christians, they teach a lesson of no small importance to be learnt, and to be remembered; they teach us that bigotry may exist in unnatural union with an amiable temper and an enlightened understanding. From men in whose minds this

* See the poem of Watts on his death, with the note.

union exists we may meet with a kind of opposition, which, though in itself unwarrantable, ought not to make us forget that they are still entitled, to something more than charity, to respect.

Whether those who are engaged in maintaining what we consider the cause of uncorrupted Christianity do for the most remember what is due to their opponents, whether they continue to merit the high praise which a hundred years ago was given to their predecessors by Tillotson, who said "that generally they were a pattern of the fair way of disputing, and of debating matters of religion without heat, and unseemly reflections upon their adversaries,"* it may not become us to determine. We do not think however that the writings of Mr. Noah Worcester, or of his brother, will detract from this praise, or that any one will find much to censure in the temper which they have manifested in the sort of controversy, if we may give it that name, in which they are engaged. To this controversy all the pamphlets before us, as we have mentioned, directly or indirectly relate. It appears from them, that the opposers of these gentlemen have manifested an aversion to their opinions, "not only in an individual but in an associate capacity." In August 1811 the Hopkinton Association, a body, of which, however respectable, most of our readers probably never heard before, and will never hear again, met at Dunbarton; and taking into consideration the dangers of the church, and the importance of their authority in favor of the truth, passed the following vote:—

"Copy of a vote passed at Dunbarton, August 1811."

"The Hopkinton Association having seen and read a publication entitled 'Bible News,' another entitled 'An Impartial Review of Testimonies,' &c. by Rev. Noah Worcester, and several other publications by Rev. Thomas Worcester all going to disprove the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, as held by the great Reformers, by our pious forefathers, by the orthodox churches of the Christian world at the present day, and in the opinion of this Association fully supported by the scriptures of

* In the second of his sermons from John i. 14. "concerning the divinity of our blessed Saviour."

truth; and feeling it our duty, not only in an individual, but in an associate capacity, to bear testimony against all error, and especially against so material an error as a denial of the self-existence of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost; therefore Voted, That the doctrine contained in the above-named publications is in our opinion a departure from the pure faith of the church of Christ: tends to strengthen the enemies, and thereby greatly to injure the cause of Zion. Voted unanimously.

“ETHAN SMITH, Moderator pro tem.”

The passing this vote was only a prelude to another transaction of more importance that was about to take place. In the next month, at the same place, there was a meeting of another body, till lately unknown in our churches, the General Association of New-Hampshire, together with delegates from the associations of Connecticut and Massachusetts, from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and from the General Convention of Vermont. They likewise took into consideration the state of the times; and their minds were full of alarm, and trouble, and zeal at the contemplation. It was in their opinion “a time of abounding iniquity,” “a time of heresy,” “a time of trial,” ‘errors’ and ‘damnable heresies’ were disseminating, and men with cunning craftiness lying in wait to deceive. They accordingly published an address on the subject of the Trinity, full, according to Mr. Thomas Worcester, of solemn and affectionate words, and of bitter and censorious implications; but which, in our opinion, is the most extraordinary and the most entertaining performance in defence of the doctrine that we recollect to have seen for some time.* After stating the alarming circumstances of the times, as just mentioned, the general association proceeds thus:—

“There is one doctrine, dear brethren, to which we would, at this time, affectionately invite your humble and prayerful attention. It is a doctrine, which lies at the foundation of your profession, your practice, and your hopes, as believers; a doctrine, which stamps the gospel, with its highest excellence; for it gives the most exalted view of the boundless perfection and

* It is published in the Panoplist for November 1811, and there recommended to the ‘diligent perusal’ of the readers of that work.

all-sufficiency of God; a doctrine, which the marvellous work of redemption peculiarly illustrates. This is the doctrine of the TRINITY."

The remainder of the address is principally employed in magnifying this doctrine; in stating how it is to be considered so as to obviate objections and difficulties; in warning men against the sin and danger of too curious attempts to explain or understand it, against "prying into those things which God has not revealed;" in making some assertions in whose support various passages of scripture are referred to; and in repeatedly stating the only argument which is enlarged upon, that arising from the form of baptism. We will give a few extracts.

"But, dear brethren, what would become of the great foundation of your hope, if the doctrine of the Trinity be exploded? Does not your salvation jointly depend on the Father, on the Son, and on the Holy Ghost?"

* * * * *

"As a pious writer observes, 'Take away the doctrine of the *Trinity*, and you sap the foundation of all that I have, as a believer, and all that I hope for, as an heir of salvation.' Let this be done, and you would have no *Divine Redeemer*, nor *Divine Sanctifier*."

* * * * *

"You will readily acknowledge, dear brethren, in view of what we have suggested, that the doctrine of the Trinity is not a doctrine of mere speculation, but of great practical use. To the humble believer, it is all in all. It is interwoven with every important doctrine, and promise, and precept of the gospel. 'Like the key stone of an arch,' it is 'essential to the support' of the whole system of evangelical truth, and 'of evangelical piety.' How then can the believer live without it? It is his life. What is the gospel without it, but a dead letter? Take from the believer this doctrine, and you take away his GOD, his SAVIOUR, his COMFORTER!*

"We freely acknowledge," the next paragraph begins, "and we wish it ever to be remembered, that this doctrine is incomprehensible."

That there is a God of infinite power, whose goodness cares for all, and whose wisdom provides for all, are, it seems, in the opinion of these worthy gentlemen, doctrines of little

* This mode of printing is copied from the original.

value. To them the universe would be dark and comfortless with only such a Being at the head of it. All their joy, and hope, and consolation is gone, if there be not some incomprehensible triple division of his nature.

In answer to the address and vote which we have mentioned, appeared the "Letter to the moderator of the New Hampshire association," and the pamphlet entitled "Defence of Truth and Character," &c. The extracts of letters in the latter are principally signed by Mr. Thomas Worcester, and we suppose there is no impropriety in attributing the whole of both pamphlets to him. In these he speaks, among other things, of the bad tendency of determining controverted questions not by argument, but by the votes and results of councils and associations; he contends that the opinions of himself and his brother are the same with those of the early Fathers, and their language at least the same with that of Calvin; and produces some references and extracts on these subjects worth attention. He maintains likewise that these opinions are in fact those of the great body of common Christians professedly trinitarians, who generally consider the Son as a distinct being from the Father, whatever form of words they may be brought to assent to, or consider as of importance. He introduces some arguments, and proposes some questions in defence of these opinions; and he complains of the sectarian and *heretical* spirit of the 'address.'

In the address the following argument is used. It is said—

" You have not been baptized into the *names* of distinct and separate Beings or Subsistences: but you have been baptized into the *name* of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, implying that these three are one. Hence the doctrine of three Persons in one God, belongs to the very essence of your baptism."

This is not the only passage in the address in which this argument is urged. We quote it rather as a specimen of the neglect of the most common analogies even of our own language, which has prevailed in the interpretation of scripture, than for any other purpose.

"—What is more common," asks Mr. Worcester in reply, "than such elliptical sentences as the baptizing text? We speak of the presence of God, and of Angels, and of men, certainly not meaning that they are not '*separate beings*,' but meaning the *presence* of God, the *presence* of Angels, and the *presence* of men. Suppose we should read of baptizing 'into the name' of Peter, and of James, and of John, would the language be improper? Or would it import that Peter, James, and John were not '*separate beings*? or suppose we should read of baptizing 'into the name' of the 'three which bear witness on earth, the Spirit, the water, and the blood,' where would be the impropriety of the language? And would it any more evidently express '*separate subsistences*,' than the baptizing phraseology? Elijah said to the false prophets, 'Call ye on the *name* of your gods.' Must we understand that those 'gods many' were not '*separate subsistences*,' because of the singular word *name* in the sentence? Concerning the sons of Joseph, Israel said, 'let my name be named upon them, and the *name* of my fathers Abraham and Isaac.' Now, Sir, why does not the '*single name*' in this case as much prove that Abraham and Isaac were not '*separate beings*,' as the same is proved concerning God and his Son, by the '*single name*' in the baptizing text?"

We next notice the pamphlet entitled a "Parable," &c. This parable supposes that after Calvin had separated from the church of Rome, a meeting of a General Association was held, at which a pathetic address was formed for the purpose of exciting alarm, and putting people on their guard against that heretic. From this address, of which the irony, and the vein of powerful reasoning concealed under it would not have been unworthy of Swift, we give the following extracts.

"There is one doctrine, dear brethren, to which we would, at this time, affectionately invite your humble and prayerful attention. It is a doctrine which lies at the very foundation of your profession, your practice, and your hopes as believers; a doctrine which stamps the gospel with its highest excellence; a doctrine which the work of redemption peculiarly illustrates. This is the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*.

"Into this doctrine you have been expressly initiated by your partaking of the Lord's supper. In the very words of the institution Christ said of the bread, 'Take, eat, *this is my body*; and of the wine, *this is my blood* of the New Testament which is shed for many.' Hence the doctrine of Transubstantiation belongs to the very essence of the Lord's supper. And we conceive that you can no more renounce this doctrine,

than you can renounce' the Lord's supper; 'and, consequently, your Christian profession.—You solemnly recognize this doctrine when you piously attend the administration of' this ordinance.

" ' In every such transaction you declare either explicitly or implicitly your belief in' *Transubstantiation*.

" ' Hence the very form of the Lord's supper must be changed, or you must turn away from the administration of it, before you can consistently deny the doctrine of' *Transubstantiation*.

" Hear further the solemn language of Christ, ' *I am the bread of life*. If any man eat of this *bread* he shall never die; and the *bread* which I will give is *my flesh*, which I will give for the life of the world.' The Jews seemed to doubt the truth of the doctrine. ' Then Jesus said unto them, Except ye eat the *flesh* and drink the *blood* of the Son of man, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my *flesh* and drinketh my *blood* hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. For my *flesh* is meat indeed, and my *blood* is drink indeed. He that eateth my *flesh* and drinketh my *blood*, dwelleth in me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me shall live by me.'

" ' Here, dear brethren, is' the foundation of your hope. But this foundation would be destroyed if this doctrine be renounced. As a pious writer observes, take away the doctrine of' Transubstantiation, ' and you sap the foundation of all I have as a believer, and all I hope for as an heir of salvation. Let this be done and you would have no *Divine Redeemer*, nor *Divine Sanctifier*. For' the *body* and *blood* of' Christ would be degraded to' mere symbolical *bread* and *wine*.' pp. 3, 4, 5.

* * * * *

" You will readily acknowledge, dear brethren, in view of what we have suggested, that the doctrine of' Transubstantiation ' is not a doctrine of mere speculation, but a doctrine of great practical use. To the humble believer it is all in all. It is interwoven with every important doctrine and precept of the gospel. Like the *key-stone* of an arch, it is essential to the support of the whole system of evangelical truth, and of evangelical piety. How then can the believer live without it. It is his life. What is the gospel without it but a dead letter? Take away from the believer this doctrine, and you take away his God, his SAVIOUR, his COMFORTER! For, as we have shown, Christ says, Except ye eat this *flesh* and drink the *blood* of the Son of man, ye have no life in you. For my *flesh* is meat indeed and my *blood* is drink indeed.

" We freely acknowledge, and we wish it to be ever remembered, that this doctrine is incomprehensible. But we are confident that it is no more so than the eternal, self-existence

of God. And we conceive, that men may as well deny that God is self-existent and from everlasting, as deny that the *bread* and *wine* in the Lord's supper are the *real body and blood* of Christ.

" Let no man, therefore, shake your faith in this doctrine by saying, it is too mysterious to be believed. He that will believe no mystery must be a universal sceptic. For what doctrine of the Bible, or even of natural religion, is void of mystery? What a mystery is man? Who can comprehend the union of his soul and body, or how his spirit acts on matter, so that a thought of the mind can produce instant motion in his body? While these things are beyond our comprehension, we may easily acquire all the knowledge of them which is necessary for the purposes of life: So while we cannot comprehend *how* bread and wine are the *real body and blood* of Christ, ' we may obtain all the knowledge of the subject which is needful for the purposes of piety, and of our eternal salvation.' " pp. 5, 6.

* * * * *

" But while we are unable to comprehend the *mode* of Transubstantiation, ' we may obviate objections, by saying, that' the elements are not *body* and *blood* ' in the same respect that they are *bread* and *wine*. They are *bread* and *wine* ' in one respect, but' *body* and *blood* ' in another.' They are *bread* and *wine* ' in *substance*, but' *body* and *blood* ' in *essence*. This is indeed a great mystery; but no man hath yet shown that it is a contradiction. We as strongly maintain as our opponents, that,' as to *substance*, the elements are *really* *bread* and *wine*. ' But at the same time we as fully believe that' the *bread* and *wine* are transubstantiated into the ' *essence*' of the *body* and *blood* of Christ. ' This our belief rests entirely on the word of him who is most intimately acquainted with his own nature and *cannot lie*. Our belief has an unshaken foundation in the divine form of' the Lord's supper. ' By this form ' we learn that the Lord' said, *This is my body*, and *This is my blood*. ' But they are' *body* and *blood* ' in a *peculiar* and *exalted* sense. Let us then not be wise above that which is written; but let us humbly receive, as truth, what God has revealed.

" Objections may be further obviated by considering that the names' *body* and *blood* ' are not intended to describe the manner in which they *subsist*, but the manner in which they *act*; not what they are in *themselves*, but what they are to *us*.

" Let all these things, dear brethren, be duly considered in connexion with the passages we have quoted, and we believe that you will find the whole of what is *revealed* concerning Transubstantiation ' to be perfectly consistent and harmonious.' " pp. 7, 8.

The Stranger's Apology for General Associations is likewise, as would be concluded from the title-page, ironical, and is written with no inferior powers of humor, ridicule, and reason.

We come now to the most important of the pamphlets under review, Mr. Noah Worcester's Address to the Trinitarian Clergy, which is written with great moderation, and good sense. Many of the arguments urged against the conduct and opinions of his opponents are striking and forcible. There is throughout the address a spirit of catholicism, and a freedom from all bitterness and ill-temper, which, considering the circumstances that he has been placed in, are particularly honorable to its author. Among the sources of satisfaction which he has found, he mentions the approbation of his opinions by the late Dr. Eckley of Boston, and gives several extracts of letters from that gentleman, in which he strongly expresses his dislike of the common trinitarian doctrine, and declares that his own belief, respecting the person of Christ, had long been "very similar" to what Mr. Worcester has adopted. Our limits will not permit us to notice more than a few other passages in this Address, especially as we suppose it is already in the hands of many of our readers. Respecting the argument from authority Mr. Worcester observes:—

"No one thing has more weight on the minds of many people in favor of the doctrine than this; that for so many ages it has been admitted as the orthodox faith. But only admit, that in every age since the doctrine was formed it has been *as heretical*, as it *now is*, for a man to inquire and to publish the fruits of his inquiries: will not this fully account for the long continuance of the doctrine in the church? If the *spirit* which has prevailed since my sentiments were first published, has been the prevailing spirit of Trinitarians since the year 381, it can be no mystery that the doctrine has been so long admitted."

p. 13.

In another place he says—

"Before I published any thing on the subject of the Trinity, a learned, ingenious, and pious friend, having heard that I had engaged in the inquiry, felt great concern about the issue; he

kindly cautioned me against speculating much on the subject, and to enforce his caution mentioned, that *most of the men of great talents*, who had allowed themselves in speculations of this kind, had finally given up the great ‘fundamental doctrine.’ This I have mentioned to illustrate the *fear and terror* with which even *pious* and *learned* men look at any thing which relates to an inquiry into the *truth* of the popular doctrine. But, in my opinion, the very reason he kindly gave against pursuing my inquiries should be considered as a reason for inquiry. If most men of *great talents*, who have allowed themselves to examine, have seen reason to give up the doctrine, we may pretty naturally infer a probability, that those men of *great talents* who *have not given up* the doctrine, have *neglected* a thorough examination; and that this *neglect* is the real reason why *they*, also, have not renounced it as well as those who have examined. Those who *have examined* thoroughly, are likely to be in the best situation to judge: and, in ordinary cases, a man’s possessing ‘*great talents*’ is not a very weighty reason why the result of his inquiries should be disregarded.” pp. 38, 39.

Speaking of the reformers he asks—

“ Were not these formidable arguments or objections urged against them, viz. That *all* or *nearly all* the *pious men*, and *learned ministers*, for a long time had, and did then, admit the opinions from which they dissented. If I ought to esteem such arguments as of *great weight*, were not the reformers blameable for treating them with so *little regard*?” p. 19.

In addition to what we have quoted we will give only the concluding paragraph of the address.

“ But sometimes conscience whispers to me thus, ‘If you can entertain a favorable opinion of men who believe doctrines which appear to you so contrary to the Bible, as that the self-existent holy ONE is *three distinct persons*, and the Son who was *sent* and the God who *sent him* the same individual Being; and not only so, but entertain a *principle of conduct* which appears to you so repugnant to the *nature of humility* and the *feelings of benevolence*; yea, while, on this very principle, they have done things which have tended to the utter ruin of your own character as a minister, who is to be *excluded* from your *charity* on the ground of *mere error in sentiment*? To this demand of conscience, I have to answer, in the *vulgar style*, ‘I don’t know.’ I find I need some acquaintance with the *general disposition* and *conduct* of men, before I can properly estimate their *moral characters*.—I feel happy in the thought that I *had acquaintance* with many of you, before I fell under your displeasure. From this

circumstance I am led to apprehend, that if I had more acquaintance with men who differ from us both, I should find still more sources of joy. The more *good people* I find in the world, the more numerous are the sources of my own comfort. While I entertain the pleasing hope of enjoying your fellowship in a better world, I am also comforted with the belief that many others of different denominations, whose piety may have been buried from our view, by our own prepossessions, will also unite with us in ascriptions of praise to God and the Lamb forever and ever." p. 45.

This is admirable; and we hope these sentiments will extend themselves among those classes of Christians with whom they have hitherto not generally prevailed. Unity of opinion even in the truth, if it were possible, would be of far less importance than the prevalence of the conviction, that unity of opinion is not necessary to Christians' regarding each other with friendship and esteem. One of the purposes for which God in his wisdom has permitted error and diversity of belief to exist among us, seems to have been the exercise of our charity; and this purpose it is to be hoped we shall more and more regard. From our charity no man should be excluded by opinions, however erroneous; though we have little doubt that this assertion may at first sight appear loose and latitudinarian to some who are very apt to forget, that we are taught to imitate the example of Him who maketh his sun to shine on the evil, and on the good. But we go further; mere error of opinion considered by itself is in no case a sufficient ground to exclude any man from our esteem and friendship. These ought to have reference not to his opinions, but to his practice. To our esteem and friendship a man of piety and virtue is entitled, whatever may be his belief. He is the more entitled, if there be in fact any thing in his belief unfriendly to the character he has acquired, and if he has had to contend with this difficulty in addition to those which are common to us all. We shall be judged hereafter not by our opportunities for collecting information, nor by our power of estimating arguments and drawing conclusions, but by the affections we have cultivated, and the virtues we have exercised. By these therefore ought the judgment of good men to be regulated

here. But he must be ignorant of facts and of human nature who will maintain that men in the very first rank of moral excellence have not held opposite opinions upon subjects of great importance. Nay, there is so much peculiarity in different constitutions of mind, and there are so many correctives provided by nature, against the consequences of erroneous opinions; that the belief which may appear to us, and would really be to us, destructive or pernicious, may be received by another without injury. There are many who think that the doctrine of philosophical necessity, for instance, or the doctrines of man's inability and of irresistible grace are adapted to lead to consequences the most adverse to religion and morality. We are not disposed to deny that it is so; but we are as little disposed to allow that these doctrines have not been held by men who felt none of these consequences. We hear of those who are condemned and disliked for their opinions, and of whom it is at the same time allowed that their characters are in other respects irreproachable. It is like neglecting or cutting down a tree whose fruit is good and whose branches are flourishing, because we have judged unfavorably of the soil in which it grew. It cannot be too often repeated that our esteem of men ought to be regulated not by their opinions, but by the manner in which they perform their duties to God and man; and that these have been equally well performed by men whose views of Christianity were very different from each other.

But we shall be accused of being indifferent to all modes of belief, and of considering one form of religion as not preferable to another. In all the great parties into which Christians have been divided, we have no doubt that men of more than common excellence may be found; but it by no means follows, that we think the principles of these different parties all equally adapted to produce such characters, or likely to be equally beneficial in their general influence. This is not our opinion. We are not thus indifferent. We have a very strong, and what we think a very rational conviction, that it is of immense importance to the happiness of mankind that

lating—of the loss of a man whose loss cannot be replaced.* They will no more be encouraged by his example, or strengthened by his assistance, or animated by his friendship. In the wisdom of God's providence, the few years are finished, in which he was allowed to sanctify and devote the splendor of his intellectual powers, and the variety and richness of his learning to the cause of religion and virtue, to the cause of the happiness of his fellow creatures. At the termination of all anxiety concerning him, by the final wreck of our hopes, there is nothing remains for us but to cherish in ourselves and in those around us the influences which the knowledge of such a character must have produced, and the memory of an example that is no longer before us. Under whatever discouragements from whatever causes we may be appointed to act, it may be worth while to remember his exertions, and the circumstances in which they were made; to remember the freedom from all complaint, the cheerfulness, the activity of mind, the interest in every thing which ought to interest a good man, that he manifested under the attacks of a disease which was continually reminding him of its power, and threatening a consummation far more terrible than early death.

If he had still been with us such as we have known him, the catholic and liberal temper which we have been endeavouring to recommend would have been far more effectually recommended by his example and influence. He had too much knowledge of the many causes of error to which we are exposed to be illiberal in his judgments, and far too much of the spirit of our religion to have any bitterness in his feelings. Early as it has pleased God to take him to himself; those only who have known him as a man, or as a preacher, can estimate the loss of his talents and his virtues. Of his talents, friendship and enmity have now but one opinion, nor we trust of that manliness, and simplicity, and sincerity of character, which remained uninjured and unaffected by the praise that so many delighted to bestow. The charm of his public discourses was the powerful support given by his vigorous

* The Rev. J. S. Buckminster died June 9, 1812.

mind to those truths, which we most desire to see established, and the vivid and beautiful expression of sentiments and feelings, in harmony with all that is most estimable in our nature. He had acquired an influence of the most beneficial kind, an influence in support of religion and good morals, such as perhaps so young a man never before possessed in our country. But all this has past away. In our hopes for the happiness of our fellow creatures, we shall no more know of his sympathy. Our exertions, whatever they may be, will continually remind us of how much more might have been effected, if he had been permitted to remain with us. We hope that this remembrance will not spend itself in unavailing regrets; but that each one of those who loved him, and whose wishes and objects were similar to his own, may contribute some portion of increased exertion toward supplying his loss, and may devote himself with more earnestness to that religion, which only is capable of forming such a character.

INTELLIGENCE.

HARVARD COLLEGE.

A NEW building has lately been erected for the accommodation of students at this college. As it is an excellent specimen of substantial and simple architecture, constructed upon a new plan, and furnishes accommodations superior to any building for the same purpose in this country, we presume our readers will be gratified by the following account of it; with which we have been favored by one of the gentlemen, who superintended its erection, Mr. Baldwin. It is called

*Holworthy Hall.**

This hall is one hundred and thirty eight feet long, thirty four

* It is named after Sir Matthew Holworthy of Great Britain, who died in 1678, and was the principal benefactor of the college from the time of Harvard to that of the elder Hollis. He gave one thousand pounds sterling to the increase of its funds.

feet wide, having four stories of the same height respectively as those in Stoughton, to the eastward of which it is placed; so as to form a right angle with the line of that and Hollis hall. Its front is south, and it was placed in this situation so as to form the north side of a quadrangle, which, when completed, will be nearly equilateral, having Hollis and Stoughton for its west side. It is divided into three parts, separated by two partition walls, which extend from the cellar to the roof. On the south side, which is the front, are three doors with entries, and staireases from the lower to the upper rooms. The front is divided into twenty four apartments, being six on each floor, sixteen by seventeen feet. On the back side are forty eight smaller rooms, eleven by thirteen feet, with a window in each opening to the north. Two of these rooms belong to each of the front ones, and communicate with it. This gives to two students a warm setting room with a southern aspect in winter, and to each in summer a separate smaller room, with a pleasant prospect of the country, and a circulation of fresh air from the north and north-west.

This college is built with the best materials of every kind, with good clapped bricks for the outside. The window caps and stools are made of the Chelmsford granite, which, with the neat rustic door posts and caps of the same stone, make a pleasing contrast with the brick work. The roof is slated with the best New York blue slates. An eave gutter runs round the whole building and forms the upper member of the cornice. All the inside work and finishing is plain and made with the best materials. The distribution of the apartments in this hall is highly approved. It admits a free circulation of air, is extremely favorable to comfort, retirement, and cleanliness, and gives each student the advantage of his separate bed or study in an apartment by himself. The rooms are all handsomely painted and papered.

The building occupies an area a few feet larger than Stoughton or Hollis, and cost about twenty two thousand dollars, which is a little less than the expense of Stoughton.

COLLEGE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

We have received from the best authority the following account of the College of North Carolina, and of the other means of education in that state.

There is but one college in the state of North Carolina, founded by charter, and denominated the University of North Carolina. This charter was granted by the legislature of the state in 1789, and this act was passed in conformity to the state constitution compiled in 1776. Trustees were appointed, to whom was given all the escheated property which then had arisen or might forever thereafter arise in the state. Another donation was afterward made of all real property which accrued to the state by confiscation during the revolutionary war. Lately another donation was made of all debts due to the state prior to the thirty first December, 1800. From these sources very ample funds have been collected. The escheated property is a thing daily arising. The trustees hold likewise by the donation of individuals forty or fifty thousand acres of the best arable land in the state of Tennessee. At the time the donations were made, these lands were not reputed very valuable, but since that time the population has increased to such a degree in and about the sections of country where these lands are situated, that a great part of them will at this time command from ten to twelve dollars per acre. Much valuable land is also held within the state of North Carolina. The income of the stock in different banks is sufficient to pay the salaries of the President and Faculty without recourse to the tuition money. The President is the Rev. Joseph Caldwell, who was educated at Princeton college, and for some time a tutor there.

The college is situated about twenty seven miles south west of Raleigh, the seat of government of the state. The place where it is situated was known under the regal government by the name of Chapel Hill. It is a small post town, containing about thirty houses beside the public buildings.

The public buildings are a Hall ninety feet in length, forty in breadth, and two stories high, containing eighteen rooms below and sixteen above for the accommodation of students, beside two public rooms, one for the library and the other for the philosophical apparatus; a Chapel forty five feet by forty, built by the liberality of the late Gen. Thomas Person of North Carolina, and from him called Person Chapel; and a Hall for commons. A new building is erected for students, one hundred and thirty feet in length, eighty in breadth, and three stories high. About thirty five thousand dollars have been appropriated toward its completion. Another Hall of the same dimensions with the present is hereafter to be erected. Dwelling houses have been built for the President and Faculty. The number of students is commonly about one hundred. The laws by which they are governed and the plan of education resemble those of New England colleges. Degrees were first conferred in 1798. The situation of Chapel Hill is very healthy, it being in an high, broken country. The surrounding lands are fertile and well watered.

Attached to the College is an Academy, which is a preparatory school for boys about to enter the college.

There are four principal Academies in the state upon liberal plans, containing on an average about one hundred students each. Beside these, charters have been granted to about twenty country academies under the care of presbyterian clergymen. There are three female schools, one in Salem, a moravian town, one in Raleigh, and one in Fayetteville, containing each about seventy female students. About half this number consists of the daughters of gentlemen residing in the state; the other half are from South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

We have been favored with the following account of the valuable addition lately made to the library of Bowdoin

College.* Of many of the books whose titles are given, a few copies, or perhaps in some instances but the single copy mentioned below can be found in our country; and with regard to these it must be interesting to men of literature and science to know where they can be borrowed or consulted. Indeed to a man of letters, the names of books only with those of their authors convey information, and sometimes suggest thoughts not without value.

This library, previous to the rich bequest of the late Hon. James Bowdoin, consisted of about eighteen hundred volumes. More than half of these were presented by the late Madam Elizabeth Bowdoin, Benjamin Vaughan, L.L.D. the Hon. George Thatcher, and other patrons of literature and science.

By the will of the late Mr. Bowdoin, his whole library, consisting of more than two thousand volumes, including a very valuable collection of atlases and maps, was bequeathed to Bowdoin college. Besides the merits of the respective works, the typography and binding are unusually elegant.

Among the more rare and valuable of these are the following.—There are many others more adapted to the use of students of the college.

Cours complet d'agriculture. Par une société d'agriculteurs, et rédigé par M. L'Abbé Rozier. 12 tom. 4to, Paris, 1781.

Traité de la culture des Terres. Par M. Duhamel du Monceau. 6 tom. 12mo, Paris, 1753.

Colonna Traiana, eretta dal Senato, e Populo Romano, all' Impera-

* Bowdoin college was founded by the legislature of this state, and endowed by them with grants of land in the District of Maine. Its name was given it in honor of Gov. Bowdoin. It resembles Harvard College in its modes of instruction and government. It has a President, the Rev. Jesse Appleton, D. D. a Professor of Languages, John Abbot, A. M. a Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, who likewise lectures on Chemistry and Mineralogy, Parker Cleaveland, A. M. and two Tutors. The number of scholars is at present between thirty and forty. A very respectable mineralogical cabinet belongs to this college. Its funds are estimated at about eighty eight thousand dollars, of which there are in real estate about fifty three thousand dollars, and in personal estate about thirty five thousand dollars. Its income in 1810 was about three thousand dollars.

tore Traiano Augusto; nel suo fero in Roma. Scolpita con l'istorie della guerra Dacica, la prima e la seconda expeditio e vittoria contro il re Decebalo. Nuovamente disegnata et instagliata da Pietro Santi Bartoli. fol.

Palazzi di Roma de piu celebri architetti, disegnati da Pietro Ferri-
zio, Pittore et Architetto. fol.

Oeuvres Complètes de J. Winkleman. Traduite de L'Allemand,
avec des notes historiques et critiques de differens auteurs. 3 tom. 4to,
Paris, 1794.

Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et
des Metiers. Par une Société de Gens de Lettres. 39 tom. 4to, Gene-
ve, 1777.

Traité de L'Astronomie Indienne et Orientale, Par J. S. Bailly. 4to,
Paris, 1787.

Histoire de L'Astronomie Ancienne, depuis son origine jusqu'à
l'établissement de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie. Par J. S. Bailly. 4to, 2d edit.
Paris, 1781.

Histoire de L'Astronomie Moderne, depuis la fondation de l'Ecole
d'Alexandrie jusqu'à l'époque de 1730. Par J. S. Bailly. 3 tom. 4to,
Paris, 1785.

Elégies de Tibulle, traduites en François, le texte vis-a-vis la tradui-
tion. Par Mirabeau. 3 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1798.

Histoire de la République Romaine, dans le cours du VII siècle; en
partie traduite du Latin de Salluste; en partie rétablie et composée sur
les fragmens, qui sont restés de ses livres perdus. Par Ch. de Brosses,
Prémier President du Parlement de Dijon. 3 tom. 4to, Dijon, 1777.

Oeuvres de Virgile, traduites en François, le texte vis-a-vis la traduc-
tion avec des remarques. Par L'Abbé des Fontaines. 4 tom. 8vo, Paris,
1802.

Q. Horatius Flaccus, ex recensione et cum notis atque emendationibus
Richardi Bentleii. 4to, Amstel, 1713.

Epigrammes de M. Val Martial, Latines et François. 3 tom. 8vo.

Q. Horatius Flaccus, sex abhinc annos ex fide atque auctoritate com-
plurium librorum manuscriptorum, opera Dionys. Lamini emendatus.
fol. Lutetiae, 1567.

Lettres de Ciceron à Atticus, avec des remarques, et le texte Latin
de l'édition de Gravius. Par L'Abbé Mongault, 4 tom, 12mo, Paris,
1787.

Tusculones de Ciceron, traduites par Messieurs Bouvier et D'Olivet.
2 tom. 12mo, Paris, 1776.

P. Virgilii Maronis Opera, ex recensione Pancratii Masvicii. 2 tom,
4to, Leovardiae, 1717.

Biblia Latina; ex officina Roberti Stephani fol. Parisii, 1540.

Biblia Hebraica; eurundem Latina interpretatio, Sanctis Pagnini Lucensis, Benedicti Ariz Montani Mispal. et quorundam aliorum collato studio, ad Hebraicam dictionem diligentissime expensa. 2 tom. fol. Aurelie Allobrogum, 1619.

La Sainte Bible; traduite par L. J. Le Maistre, ou De Sacy. 32 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1725.

Biblia Sacra, Vulgata Editionis; Sixti V. Pont. Max. jussu recognita atque edita. 4to, Antwerpiz, 1605.

La Vie du Cardinal Richlieu. 2 tom. 12mo, Cologne, 1694.

Experiences sur les vegetaux. Par J. Ingen-Housz, conseiller Au-lique, &c. Traduites de l'Anglois par l'auteur. 2 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1787.

Le Botaniste Cultivateur; ou description, culture et usage de la plus grande partie des plantes cultivées en France et en Angleterre, rangées suivant la méthode de Jussieu. Par M. du Mont de Courset, correspondant de l'Institut. &c. 5 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1802.

Système des Plantes, contenant les classes, ordres, genres, et espèces; extract et traduit des ouvrages de Linné. Par M. J. P. Mouton-Fontenille, de l'Academie &c. 5 tom. 8vo, Lyon, 1804.

Herbier de la France. Dictionnaire Élémentaire de Botanique. Histoire des Plantes vénéneuses; et histoire des Champignons de la France. Par N. Bulliard. 10 tom. fol. Paris.

Caroli Linné Systema Plantarum. Curante D. Joanne J. Reichard, Soc. Acad. Imp. 4 tom. 8vo, Francofurti, 1779.

Système des Connaissances Chimiques, et de leurs applications aux phénomènes de la nature et de l'art. Par A. F. Fourcroy. 11 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1801.

Traité de Minéralogie. Par René Just Haüy. 5 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1801.

Traité Élémentaire de Minéralogie, avec des applications aux Arts. Par A. Brongniart. 2 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1807.

Journal des Mines; publié par l'agence des Mines de la République. 21 tom. 8vo, Paris.

The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce: translated from the French of Mons. Savary, with large additions. By Malachy Postlethwait. 2 vols. fol. Lond. 1751.

An Historical and Chronological deduction of the origin of commerce from the earliest accounts. By Adam Anderson. 4 vols. 4to, London, 1787.

Dictionnaire Universel de la Géographie commercante. Par J. Peu-
thet. 5 tom. 4to, Paris, 1799.

Annals of Commerce from the earliest accounts to the meeting of the Union parliament in Jan. 1801. By David Macpherson. 4 vols. 4to, London, 1805.

Le Grand Dictionnaire Géographique et Critique. Par M. Bruzen de la Martiniere. 10 tom. fol. 1726.

Complete Body of Ancient Geography, both sacred and profane. By G. Hornius, Professor of History at Leyden. fol. 3d edit. Hague, 1741,

Collection Complete des Tableaux Historiques de la Revolution Française. 3 tom. fol. Paris, 1802.

Le premier volume contient une frontispice et 77 gravures historiques.

Le second contient une frontispice et 76 gravures historiques.

Le troisième contient une frontispice, representant les droits de L'Homme, et les portraits de 66 personnages, qui ont été le plus marqué dans le cours de la Revolution.

Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique, avec des Tables Chronologiques. Par une Société de Gens-de-Lettres. 9 tom. 8vo, 7th edit. Paris, 1789.

Atlas Historique, Généalogique, Chronologique, et Géographique. Par A. Le Sage. Imperial folio. Paris.

Bataille de Preussisch-Eylau, gagnée par la grande armée, commandée en personne par S. M. Napoleon I, sur les armées combinées de Prusse et Russie, le 8 Fevrier, 1807; avec trois plans et deux cartes. fol. Paris, 1807.

Histoire du Paraguay. Par P. Fr. Xavier de Charlevoix. 6 tom. 12mo, Paris, 1759.

Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France. Par P. Fr. Xavier de Charlevoix. 6 tom. 12mo, Paris, 1744.

Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne. Par Cl. Rulhiere. 4 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1807.

Histoire impartiale de Proces de Louis XVI. Par L. F. Jauffert, Homme de Loi, &c. 8 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1792.

Mémoires historiques et politiques de Regne de Louis XVI, depuis son mariage jusqu'à sa mort. Par Jean L. Soulavie (l'aîné) de l'Academie des Inscriptions. 6 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1801.

Histoire de France depuis les Gaulois jusqu'à la fin de la monarchie. Par M. Anquetil, de L'Institut. 14 tom. 12mo, Paris, 1805.

Histoire des Revolutions de la République Romaine. Par Vertot. 3 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1796.

Histoire des Revolutions de Suede. Par Vertot. 2 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1796.

Histoire de France depuis l'establishment de la monarchie jusqu'au regne de Louis XIV. Par M. L'Abbé Velly, M. Villaret, et M. Gariépier. 30 tom. 12mo, Paris.

Histoire Naturelle de Pline, traduite en François, avec le texte Latin, rétabli d'après les meilleures leçons manuscrites. 12 tom. 4to, Paris, 1771.

Voyages dans plusieurs provinces de L'Empire de Russie, et dans L'Asie septentrionale. Par Professeur Pallas. Traduits de L'Allemand. 8 tom. 8vo, avec atlas, fol. Paris, 1801.

Gazette Nationale, ou Le Moniteur Universel depuis son commencement le 5 Mai, 1789, jusqu'à 31 Decembre, 1807. 34 tom. fol. Paris.

Oeuvres Posthumes de Frederic II, Roi de Prusse. 13 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1789.

Oeuvres de Jean F. Regnard. 4 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1790.

The works of Nicholas Machiavel, translated by E. Farnsworth. 4 vols. 8vo, 2d edit, London, 1775.

Lettres du Cardinal D'Ossat, avec des notes historiques et politiques de M. Amelot de la Houssaye. 2 tom. 4to, Paris, 1698.

Oeuvres Complètes de M. Voltaire. 70 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1785.

Oeuvres Complètes de L'Abbé Mably. 22 tom. 12mo, Paris, 1790.

Roman Comique. Par Paul Scarron. 2 tom. 12mo, Paris, 1758.

Oeuvres Complètes de M. Helvetius. 4 tom. 8vo, Liege, 1774.

Oeuvres Complètes de M. Le Compte de Buffon. 58 tom. 12mo, Paris, 1774.

Oeuvres Complètes de J. J. Rousseau. 24 tom. 8vo, Geneve, 1780.

Traité Élémentaire de Physique. Par René J. Haüy. 2 tom. 8vo, 2d edit. Paris, 1806.

Recherches sur les Modifications de L'Atmosphère. Par J. A^e De Luc. 4 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1784.

Histoire de L'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. 43 tom. 4to, Paris.

Mémoires de L'Institut National des Sciences et Arts. 21 tom. 4to, Paris.

Séances des écoles Normales. 2 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1796.

L'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions. Par A. Wicquefort. 2 tom. 4to, Cologne, 1715.

Tableau des Révolutions du Système Politique de L'Europe depuis la fin du quinzième siècle. Par M. Fr. Ancillon. 7 tom. 12mo, Paris, 1806.

Journal d'Economie Publique. Par M. Röderer. 7 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1797.

Histoire du Traité de Westphalie. Par Le Pere Bougeant. 6 tom. 12mo, Paris, 1751.

La Science du Gouvernement. Par M. De Real. 8 tom. 4to, Paris, 1762.

Statistical tables of all the states of Europe; translated from the German of J. G. Boetticher, with a supplementary table. By William Playfair. 4to, London, 1800.

AMERICAN ACADEMY.

Officers of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences chosen at the statute meeting, in May, 1812, for the current year.

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Communications received during the period above-mentioned.

A speculation on the apparent motion of the earth, as viewed from the moon, arising from the moon's librations.

By JAMES DEAN, *Prof. Math. and Nat. Phil. Burlington College, Vermont.*

An estimate of the height, direction, velocity, and magnitude, of the meteor, which exploded over Weston, in Connecticut, December 14, 1807; with methods of calculating observations made on such bodies.

By NATHANIEL BOWDITCH.

Analysis of Sulphat of Barytes from Hatfield, Massachusetts.

By JOHN GORHAM, M. D.

A letter on the Aurora Borealis, addressed to John Adams, President of the Academy.

By IGNATIUS THOMPSON.

An account of the quantity of rain which fell during the year 1810 in Stow, Massachusetts.

By Rev. JONATHAN NEWELL.

A letter on a species of Scutella, addressed to John Warren, M. D.

By Hon. JOHN DAVIS.

A letter on a remarkable Lunar eclipse.

By Hon. ROBERT T. PAIN.

"An attempt to display at one view all the annual cycles of the equation of time in a complete revolution of the sun's apogee;" with a paper describing the construction and use of the scheme to be used.

By JAMES DEAN.

A memoir containing a new and simple method of constructing a Cometarium, that shall represent, by means of a simple adjustment, the eccentricities and motions of planets as well as comets.

By JAMES DEAN.

A letter addressed to the Hon. Joshua Fisher, of Beverly, giving an account of the earthquake, which happened at Exeter, N. H. on the evening of the ninth of November, 1811.

By Hon. SAMUEL TENNEY.

Memoirs on the following subjects. viz.—

On the elements of the orbit of the comet of 1811.

On the eclipse of the sun, September 17, 1811.

On the variation of the magnetic needle.

On the height of the White mountains in New Hampshire.

By NATHANIEL BOWDITCH.

The following donations have been made to the Academy since May, 1810.

For the Funds.

A legacy of two hundred dollars bequeathed by the late Hon. Samuel Dexter, Esq.

For the Cabinet.

A number of natural and artificial curiosities.

By JOSEPH H. PRINCE.

Specimen of Rhode Island coal.

By Rev. DR. HOLMES.

An assortment of minerals, the productions of Russia, consisting of sixty four specimens; with a description and some remarks.

By MR. CHARLES ETTER, Mineralogist attached to the department of public instruction, and Member of the Free Economical Society of St. Petersburg.

For the Library.

The sixth volume of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. By the said SOCIETY.

Printed Report of a Committee of Congress on Mr. Lambert's proposal and calculations for a fixed meridian of the United States. By HON. JOSIAH QUINCY.

Files of the Boston Patriot.

By the EDITOR.

Medical papers of the Massachusetts Medical Society,
parts first and second of volume second.

By JOHN C. WARREN, M. D.

History of the Art of Printing.

By the author, ISAIAH THOMAS, Esq.

The Christian Monitor.

By the CHRISTIAN MONITOR SOCIETY.

Two Perpetual Diaries, the invention of Benjamin Dearborn.

By the INVENTOR.

The Botanist.

By the author, BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE, M. D.

A Sermon on the opening of the bridge over Connecticut river, near Northampton.

By the author, Rev. SAMUEL WILLARD.

Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburgh; Vol. II. of a new series.

By the said ACADEMY.

“Rapport entre la langue Sanscrit et la langue Russie.”

By the AUTHOR.

“Principes de Chronologie pour les temps antérieurs aux Olympiades.”

By JOHN Q. ADAMS.

“Mercator Map of the starry heavens,” accompanied with a pamphlet describing its advantages and use.

By the author, WILLIAM CROSWELL.

“The General Repository and Review. Vol. I.”

By the EDITOR.

“Invitation à la séance publique de la Société Imperial des Naturalists de Moscou par le Directeur perpetuel de la Société, le Professeur G. Fischer.”

By the AUTHOR.

Abstract of the bill of mortality for the town of Boston.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THIS Life of U. Zwingle, the Swiss reformer. Translated by J. Aikin, M. D. 8vo, 10s. 6d.

The Life of John Knox, containing illustrations of the history of the Reformation in Scotland, with biographical notices of the principal reformers, &c. By Rev. Thomas Mc Crie. 8vo. 12s.

Some account of the Life and writings of James Benigne Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. By Charles Butler, Esq.

Memoirs of the late Rev. G. Whitfield, A. M. By the Rev. I. Gillie. 8vo, 9s.

The Life of Richard Cumberland. By William Mudford. 8vo, 16s.

Lord Berner's Translation of Froissart has been republished in 2 vols. 4to. 7l. 7s.

Historical and Military Classics; being a republication in monthly numbers, price 2s. 6d each, of all the Greek, Roman, and ancient European original historians, reprinted from the best translations. 8vo.

Political Essay on the kingdom of New Spain. By A. De Humboldt. vol. 3 and 4, 8vo, 21s. 6d.

Voyages and Travels in the years 1809, 10, and 11, in Gibraltar, Sardinia, &c. By Mr. J. Galt. 4to, 4l. 16s.

A view of the natural, political, and commercial circumstances of Ireland, with a valuable map and copious appendix. By Thomas Newenham, Esq. 4to, 4l. 7s. boards.

Observations on the character, customs, and superstitions of the Irish, and on some of the causes that have retarded the moral and political improvement of Ireland. By D. Dewan, A. M. 8vo.

The causes of the dispute with the United States, in three letters, with an explanatory preface. 2s.

An Essay on the good effects which may be derived from the British West Indies. By S. Gainsford, Esq. 8vo, 7s.

An impartial examination of the dispute between Spain and her American colonies. By A. F. Estrada. Translated by W. Burdon, 8vo, 5s.

A Letter addressed to the members of the established church connected with the British and Foreign Bible Society. 1s.

A call to unanimity in the church, or an address to the editors of the British Review, 1s. 6d.

Proceedings at the public meeting held at the Town-hall, Cambridge, for the purpose of establishing an auxiliary Bible Society.

A Sermon on the necessity of educating the poor, before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, Dec. 1, 1841. By the Rev. G. Fausset.

Remarks on Mr. Lancaster's system of education. By W. Fell.

[We have noticed several other publications on the controversy concerning Mr. Lancaster, and on the education of the poor; but being ignorant of the character of their authors, and of their merits, we have not thought their titles worth giving.]

Neal's History of the puritans, abridged by Edward Parsons, with the life of the author by Joshua Tealmin, D. D. 2 vols. 8vo, 1l. 1s. boards.

An History of the English Baptists, vol. 1. By John Ivamy. The second volume is in preparation.

The Catholie Question; two sermons, one on the *impartiality of God*, the other on *candor*. By the Rev. Dr. Clarke, of Boston, in America, author of an answer to the question, Why are you a Christian?

Remarks on the Refutation of Calvinism by G. Tomline, B. D. &c. By T. Scott, 2 vols. 8vo, 21s.

A Sermon at Calcutta, in behalf of 900,000 Christians in India, who want the bible. By Rev. G. Martyn. 2s.

Wickliffe's Translation of the New Testament has been republished by Rev. Henry Hervey Baber, A. M. Assistant Librarian to the British Museum, &c. 4to, 1l. 4s. royal paper, 1l. 11s. ed.

A review of the reports to the Board of Agriculture on the eastern departments of England. By W. Marshall. 8vo, 12s.

A report on the mineralogy of Derbyshire, published by order of the Board of Agriculture. By John Farey; with maps and sections. vol. 1. 21s.

Dr. Shaw has published the eighth volume of his General Zoology, being the second volume of birds.

Four volumes of the Edinburgh Encyclopaedia have been published.

The antiquarian and topographical cabinet, 10 vols. 500 plates, 8vo, 7l. 10s. boards, demy 8vo, 12l.

A Treatise on the resolution of the higher equations in Algebra. By William Lea, 4to, 5s.

The transactions of the Royal Irish Society, vol. 11. 4to, 1l. 4s.

The antiquities of Magna Graecia, comprising the ancient Grecian temples of Syracuse, Selinus, Agrigentum, and Segesta in Sicily, and the temple of Poestum in Lucania. By William Wilkins, M. A. F. A. S. Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Oxford, with 84 engravings by the most celebrated artists, fol. boards, 10 guineas.

Brotier's Tacitus has just been republished by John Valpy, A. M. late fellow of Pembroke college, Oxford, 5 vols. 8vo, 4l. 4s. large paper, 6l. 6s.

Euripidis Hippolytus Coronifer, a J. H. Monk, A. M. 8vo, 6s.

The Costume of the ancients. By Thomas Hope, an improved edition. 2 vols. royal 8vo, 2 guineas, royal 4to 5 guineas.

Dryden's poetical works with notes. By the late Dr. Warton and Rev. J. Warton, 4 vols. 8vo, 2l. 2s.

Miss Bailley has published a third volume of her series of Plays on the passions, alternately comedy and tragedy.

Eighteen hundred and eleven, a poem. By Anna Letitia Barbauld.

Roneesvalles, a poem in twelve books. By R. Warton, Esq. M. P. F. R. S. 4to, 1l. 10s.

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, a Roimaunt. By Lord Byron, 4to, 7*s.*

The Siege of Zaragoza, and other poems. By Laura Sophia Temple.

Temper, or Domestic Scenes, a Tale. By Mrs. Opie, 3 vols. 12mo, 1l. 1s. boards.

The Countess of Gertrude, or modes of discipline. By Laetitia Matilda Hawkins. Dedicated by permission to Mrs. H. M. Bowdler, 4 vols. 8vo, 1l. 16s.

Aneedotes of Literature and scarce books. By Rev. W. Beloe. 8vo, vol. 5, 12s.

British Bibliographer. vol. 2 and 3. 8vo.

An essay on the probability of sensation in vegetables. By J. P. Tapper, F. L. S. 8vo, 5s.

A practical treatise on the morbid sensibility of the eye, commonly called weakness of sight. By John Stevenson, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, &c. and Lecturer on the anatomy, Physiology, and diseases of the eye and ear. 5s. [This work is highly praised by the reviewers.]

LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS

FOR APRIL, MAY, AND JUNE, 1812.

N.B. All notices of works published, or proposed to be published, which may be forwarded to the publisher of this work, free of expense, shall be inserted in this list.

NEW WORKS.

Works to which an asterisk is prefixed are in the Athenæum, Boston.

THE first number of the literary and philosophical Répertory. To be issued occasionally, at three dollars per volume, or for every six numbers. [We understand that the principal editor is Professor Hall, of Middlebury College, who has communicated in this number an account of his observations in Paris, under the title of the Stranger in Paris.] Middlebury, Vt.

The first number of the Emporium of Arts and Sciences, (to consist principally of selections from foreign Journals), to be continued

monthly. Conducted by J. N. Coxe, M. D. &c. The first number containing four elegant engravings. Philadelphia. J. Delaplaine.

An History of Georgia, containing sketches of the most remarkable events up to the present day, in two volumes. vol. 1.

The fifth volume of the American Ornithology. By Alexander Wilson. Philadelphia, Bradford & Inskeep.

* Observations on hydrophobia, produced by the bite of a mad dog, or other rabid animal, with an examination of the various theories and methods of cure existing at the present day; and an inquiry into the merit of specific remedies; also, a method of treatment best adapted to the brute creation, in a series of letters addressed to a friend. By James Thacher, M. D. &c. Plymouth. (Mass.) Joseph Avery. 8vo.

* The proceedings of the government of the United States, in maintaining the public right to the beach of the Mississippi, adjacent to New Orleans, against the intrusion of Edward Livingston. Prepared for the use of council, by Thomas Jefferson. New York, Ezra Sargent. 80 pages, 8vo.

* Regulations for the field exercise, manoeuvring, and conduct of the infantry of the United States; drawn up and adapted to the organization of the militia and regular troops. By an officer in the army, by order of the secretary of war. Philadelphia, Fry & Kammerer. 8vo.

The first Drills; or Elementary Principles of Military Exercise, adapted to the modern system of tactics; intended for the use of the uninformed militia of the United States, and founded on the principles of common sense and natural analysis. By John Hollinshead, Lieut. in the United States' Regiment of Light Dragoons. Trenton, D. Fenton.

* Situation of England in 1811. By M. Mie de Montgaillard. Translated from the French by a citizen of the United States. New York, C. S. Van Winkle.

* The resources of Russia, in the event of a war with France; and an examination of the prevailing opinions relative to the political and military conduct of the court of St. Petersburgh, with a short description of the Cozacks. By Alexis Eustaphieve. Boston, Munroe & Francis.

A Letter to an Ex-president of the United States. Boston, for sale at the bookstores.

A Letter to a member of congress, on the subject of a British war. Providence, John Carter.

* An Oration delivered before the Washington Benevolent Society of Massachusetts, on the thirtieth day of April, 1812, being the anniversary of the first inauguration of president Washington. By William Sukkiss, Esq. Boston, John Elliot, jun. 8vo.

An Oration before the Washington Benevolent Society of the county of Hampshire, on their first anniversary, 1812, in commemoration of the nativity of Washington. By Isaac C. Bates, Esq. Northampton, W. Butler.

* Oration delivered before the Washington Society of Maryland, on the twenty second February, 1812. By Upton S. Heath, Esq. Baltimore, Magruder & Kennedy.

* Proceedings of the second church and parish in Dorchester; exhibited in a collection of papers; published agreeably to a vote of the church. Boston, Samuel T. Armstrong.

Serious Thoughts on a late administration of episcopal orders, &c. with a postscript in answer to Dr. Bowden's Essentials of Ordination stated. New York.

The twentieth number of the Christian Monitor. Boston, Monroe & Francis.

A respectful Address to the trinitarian clergy, relating to their manner of treating opponents. By Noah Worcester. Boston, Bradford & Read, 1812, 12mo.

Letter to the moderator of the New Hampshire Association. By Timothy. Boston, Watson & Bangs, 1812, 12mo.

A Defence of truth and character against ecclesiastical intolerance. Extracts of some letters occasioned by proceedings of the Hopkinton Association, and of the New Hampshire General Association. Concord, N. H. L & W. R. Hill, 1812, 12mo,

The Stranger's Apology for the General Associations, supposed to have been written by Elias Monitor, author of some anonymous publications, &c. Boston, W. Wells, 1812, 12mo,

A Parable, occasioned by a late portentous phenomenon. By the Pilgrim Good-Intent. Concord, N. H. L & W. R. Hill, 1812, 12mo,

A Scripture Catechism. The questions and answers taken from the bible. By Thomas Worcester. Salem, Cushing & Appleton, 18mo.

* Sermons on particular occasions, preached at the Stone Chapel in Boston, 8vo.

Sermons delivered on various occasions. First published singly, now republished and collected into one volume, with two new ones. By Joseph Lathrop, D. D. Boston, L Thomas Jun. 8vo.

Christ's Rebuke to his disciples for their irregular seal in his cause. A sermon delivered at the second church in Boston. By Joseph Lathrop, D. D.

* A Sermon preached before the governor, the lieutenant governor, and the two branches of the legislature of Massachusetts, May 27, 1812.

being the day of annual election. By Edmund Foster, A. M. congregational minister at Littleton. Boston, Russel & Cutler.

* A Sermon delivered before the convention of the congregational ministers in Boston, at their anniversary meeting, May 28, 1812. By Jedidiah Morse, D. D. Minister of the congregational church and society in Charlestown. Boston, Samuel T. Armstrong.

A discourse delivered on the Lord's day [the birthday of the author] May 17, 1812. By John Lathrop, D. D. Pastor of the second church in Boston. Text, *Acta xxvi. 22, 23.*

* A Sermon delivered at Trinity Church, March 21, 1812, on the decease of Mr. George Higginson. By J. S. J. Gardiner, rector. Boston, Munroe & Francis.

A Tribute of Respect to the memory of the Hon. James Bowdoin, in a sermon preached at Dorchester, Oct 27, 1811. By Thaddeus M. Harris, Minister of the first church in Dorchester.

A Sermon delivered at Trinity Church, on the day of public fast. By the Rev. J. S. J. Gardiner.

A Sermon preached before the Bible and Common Prayer Book Society of New York. By Nathaniel Bowen, A.M. rector of Grace Church, New York. New York, T. & J. Swords.

A Sermon preached Sept. 8, 1811, at the Presbyterian Church in Elizabeth street, New York, being the Sunday after the author's ordination and installation as pastor of the church in that place. By Henry P. Strong. New York, Largin & Thompson.

* The supreme deity of Christ illustrated, a Discourse delivered Lord's day, April 19, 1812, before the second Baptist Church and Congregation in Boston, with an appendix. By Thomas Baldwin, D. D. pastor of said church.

* An Earnest Caution against suicide. Written Sermon-wise. Boston, Belcher.

A half century Sermon, delivered at Norfolk, October 28, 1811, fifty years from the ordination of the author to the ministry in that place. By Ammi R. Robbins. Hartford, P. B. Gleason & Co.

The watchman's warning to the house of Israel, a Thanksgiving Sermon, November 21, 1811. By Festus Foster, minister of the gospel in Petersham. Worcester, I. Thomas, jun.

A farewell Discourse, delivered to the congregational church and society of Chelsea in Norwich, (Conn.) Aug. 13, 1811, together with an appendix relating to the separation. By Walter King. New York, J. Seymour.

* Second annual exhibition of the Society of Artists of the United States, and the Pennsylvania Academy, 1812. Philadelphia, James W. Palmer, A. M. price 25 cents.

* The Trial of Edward Tenke, mariner, for the wilful murder of a youth, called Edwards, at Carteret superior court, September term, 1811. New York, E. Sargent.

Map, and historical and biographical Chart of the United States. By David Ramsay, M. D.

A chronological Table of the principal events which have taken place in the English colonies, now United States, from 1607 till 1810, explanatory of and supplementary to the above. By D. Ramsay, 12mo, pp. 54. Charlestown, (S. C.) J. Hoff.

Notes on the parables of the New Testament; scripturally illustrated, and argumentatively defended. By Hosea Ballou, author of a Treatise on atonement, &c.

A contrast between Calvinism and Hopkinsianism. By Ezra Stiles Ely, 8vo, New York.

Minstrelsy of Edmund, the Wanderer. Collected by his early companion and intimate friend, Lieut. Spence, of the U. S. navy.

Kelroy, a novel. By a lady of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, M. Thomas.

A new Grammar of the English language, for schools, entitled "The Union Grammar." By D. Jaudon, ladies' preceptor, Union Hall, Philadelphia. Philadelphia, D. Hogan.

Sermons by the late Rev. John Ewing, D. D. Selected for publication by the Rev. P. Wilson, D. D. pastor of the first presbyterian congregation in the city of Philadelphia. Easton, (Penn.) T. J. Rogers.

The examination, Trial, and execution of Bellingham for the murder of the Rt. Hon. Spencer Percival. Boston.

NEW EDITIONS.

American Works.

Elements of Botany, or outlines of the natural history of vegetables. By Benjamin Smith Barton, M. D. 2d edit, in 2 vols. Vol. 1 illustrated by forty plates. Philadelphia.

The American Universal Geography. By Jedidiah Morse, D. D. &c. sixth edition improved, 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 1700; price \$7,50, common paper, \$8, fine. Boston, Thomas & Andrews.

General Atlas of the world, adapted to the above containing 63 maps. price \$7.

Professor Silliman's Travels in England, Holland and Scotland. 2d edit. \$2,50.

Memoirs of Mrs. Ramsay. By David Ramsay, M. D. 2d edit. Boston, S. T. Armstrong.

* A serious Inquiry into the nature and effects of the stage; being an attempt to shew that contributing to the support of a public theatre is inconsistent with the character of a Christian; and a letter respecting play actors. By the Rev. John Witherspoon, LL. D. late president of the college at Princeton, N. Jersey. New York, Whiting & Watson. The works of the Rev. Joseph Bellamy, 3 vols. New York, S. Dodge, Boston, S. T. Armstrong.

Foreign Works.

* The Works of William Paley, D. D. with memoirs of his life by G. W. Meadley; and complete and original indices of his works, 5 vols. 8vo. Boston, Joshua Belcher. [We believe our country has the honor of giving the first complete edition of the works of Dr. Paley; and we congratulate our friends on the completion of this very valuable publication. Beside those works of Dr. Paley which are in general circulation in our country, this edition contains, 1. Five sermons and a charge, published by him during his life; 2. Reasons for contentment; 3. A Defence of the Considerations on the propriety of requiring a subscription to articles of faith, [against such requisition]; 4. The young Christian instructed in reading and in the principles of religion, compiled for the use of the Sunday schools in Carlisle; 5. The Clergyman's Companion in visiting the sick; 6. Extracts from Dr. Paley's college lectures, as preserved in the manuscripts of his pupils; 7. A short memoir of Richard Yates, A. M.; 8. A short memoir of Edmund Law, D. D. bishop of Carlisle; 9. Correspondence between Dr. Percival and archdeacon Paley, on subscription to articles of faith; 10. Speech on the abolition of the slave trade, delivered at a meeting of the inhabitants of Carlisle; 11. Correspondence of Mr. Robertson and archdeacon Paley on an alleged literary depredation; 12. Advertisement to the separate publication of his essay on the British constitution. These works occupy more than 300 pages.]

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, 6 vols. 8vo. Charlestown, S. Etheridge.

The first volume of Calmet's great Dictionary of the Bible, (to be published in 4 vol. 4to, with plates), price to subscribers, £59. Charlestown, S. Etheridge.

Memoirs of the latter years of C. J. Fox. By John Bernard Trotter, Esq. late private secretary to Mr. Fox, 8vo. Boston, West & Blake, and O. C. Greenleaf. [This work is of small value, compared with the interest its title is adapted to excite. It contains as little relating directly to Mr. Fox as can well be imagined. Mr. Trotter is a very declamatory and affected writer, with not much perspicacity or talent for observation, and no very correct moral sensibility. He is continually

digressing into wearisome tirades of reflections, criticisms on books, and accounts of his feelings. He has scarcely given an anecdote of Mr. Fox, that one would repeat in conversation. All that is worth preserving in the book would hardly fill an eighth of the present volume.]

The Armenian, or Methodist Magazine, commencing with the year 1811, to be published monthly, in 40 pages of letter press, at 12 cents a number. From 25,000 to 30,000 copies of this work are said to be sold in England each month. Baltimore, John Kingston.

The second Part of Marsh's Lectures. Cambridge, W. Hilliard.

* Healing waters of Bethesda; a sermon preached at Buxton Wells, to the company assembled there for the benefit of the medical waters, on Whitsunday, June 2, 1811. By the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D. D. late vice provost of the college of Fort William, in Bengal. Boston, Munroe & Francis.

A selection from bishop Horne's Commentary on the psalms. By Lindley Murray. Philadelphia, Bradford & Inskeep.

The Evidences of the Christian religion; with additional discourses, collected from the writings of Addison. Newburyport, Thomas & Whipple.

* The communicant's Spiritual Companion, or an evangelical preparation for the Lord's Supper. By Rev. Thomas Haweis, D. D. Boston, Lincoln & Edmands.

Psyche, or the Legend of Love, with other poems. By the late Mrs. H. Tighe. Philadelphia, J. & A. Y. Humphries.

Retrospection, a poem in familiar verse. By Richard Cumberland, Boston, Bradford & Read.

The Banks of Wye, a poem. By Robert Bloomfield. Philadelphia, Bradford & Inskeep.

Sentimental anecdotes. By Madame de Montolieu; translated by Mrs. Plunket. Philadelphia, M. Thomas.

Soldier's orphan, a new novel. Philadelphia, Bradford & Inskeep.

Evening Entertainments, or Delineations of the manners and customs of various nations. By J. B. Depping. Philadelphia. D. Hogan.

The whole duty of woman. By a lady, \$1 miniature edition. Philadelphia, E. Earle.

Works in the press or proposed to be published.

A System of operative surgery, founded on the basis of anatomy. By Charles Bell; publishing by Hale & Howser, at Hartford, in 2 vols. 8vo; containing upwards of 100 engravings on copper and wood; price to subscribers \$3, 50 per vol. boards. Subscriptions received by Munroe and Francis, Boston.

Engravings of the arteries illustrating the anatomy of the human body,

and serving as an introduction to the surgery of the arteries. By Charles Bell. The plates, fourteen in number, will be copied from the third London edition published a few months since, by the best engravers, and be handsomely and correctly colored; price to subscribers £5. Boston, Bradford & Read, A. Finley, Philadelphia. It is intended, if sufficient encouragement should be given, to follow the engravings of the arteries with those of the bones, muscles and joints, nerves, and brain.

An analysis of the laws relative to marine insurances, together with a collection of cases decided in the several courts of the United States, and of such English cases as have been reported since the last edition of Serjeant Marshall's book. By Samuel Livermore, Esq. counsellor at law. This work is intended as a supplement to the Treatise on the law relative to marine insurances by Serjeant Marshall. 1 vol. 8vo, pp. 500 to 600; price to subscribers £4. Boston, T. B. Wait & Co.

J. Horwitz has issued proposals for publishing an edition of Van Der Hooght's Hebrew Bible, without the points; warranted free from errors, in 2 vols. 8vo, price to subscribers £7,50 per vol. Subscriptions received by William Hilliard, Cambridge. [Such a publication is much wanted in our country, but we fear the success of the present will be prevented by the high price of the volumes.]

W. Hilliard has commenced the printing of Alison's Essays on taste, from the last Edinburgh edition. This is in 2 vols. 8vo; the American edition will be in one; price to subscribers £2,50.

The Travels of captains Lewis and Clarke, published, we understand, under the direction of president Jefferson, are in the press of Messrs. Conrads, Philadelphia.

The history of Louisiana by Lieut. Stoddard is in the press of the same publishers.

Travels in the United States of America in the years 1806, and 1807, and 1809, 1810 and 1811; including an account of passages betwixt America and Britain, and travels through various parts of Britain, Ireland, and Upper Canada. With an appendix, containing a brief review of various geographical works, and books of travels in the United States; an abstract of the American constitutions; and sundry statistical tables and documents relative to political economy. Illustrated by maps and plates. It will be comprised in 2 vols. 8vo, and printed in Philadelphia. By John Melish.

Memoirs of the life and writings of John Calvin, with a selection from his letters, together with sketches of the lives of the most eminent reformers among his contemporaries. By Rev. E. Waterman. 1 vol. 8vo. Hartford, Hale and Hosmer.

The Life of Cumberland. By William Mudford, Esq. Boston, Bradford & Read.

A new American Biographical Dictionary, or a Remembrancer of the departed heroes and statesmen of America. To be confined to those, who signalized themselves in either capacity in the revolutionary war which obtained the independence of their country. Compiled from the best publications. Easton, (Penn.) T. J. Rogers.

In one large 8vo volume, Memoirs of the life of David Rittenhouse, LL. D. F. R. S. &c. By William Barton, M. A. counsellor at law, of Lancaster, (Penn.) Easton, (Penn.) T. J. Rogers.

Memoirs of the Rev. John Rogers, D. D. By Samuel Miller, D. D. New York, Whiting & Watson.

An Apology for the life of James Fennel, written by himself.

Dr. Ramsay, of Charleston (S. C.) has ready for the press a series of historical volumes, to be entitled "Universal History Americanized," or "An historical view of the world from the earliest records to the nineteenth century, with a particular reference to the state of society, literature, religion, and form of government in the United States of America." It is expected that the whole will be comprehended in ten or twelve volumes, 8vo, price \$3 a volume.

Proposals by Bradford and Inskeep (Phil.) for republishing Pinkerton's Atlas, now publishing in London in quarterly numbers, have been some time before the public. The American edition is to be completed in about twenty numbers, each number to contain three maps; price \$4 plain, \$5 colored. Subscriptions received by Bradford & Read, Boston.

P. F. Blondin, (Phil.) has issued proposals for publishing a translation from the French of A. Le Sage's Historical, Genealogical, Chronological and Geographical Atlas. The historical atlas will contain thirty one original tables, and five additional charts, by the translator. Bradford & Read receive subscriptions for this work, at \$1,25 per sheet.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The author of the account of the controversy between Dr. Priestley, Dr. Horsely, &c. is desirous of expressing his obligations to Rev. Mr. Cary of Boston, for the loan of Barnard's Letter to Dr. Priestley, and of a new work of Mr. Belsham, (which Mr. Cary had just received from that gentleman,) containing a 'Brief review of the controversy between Dr. Priestley and Dr. Horsely.'

ON THE TEMPERATURE OF THE CLIMATE AT CAMBRIDGE,
NEW ENGLAND.

SOME remarkable phenomena in the weather, which have occurred during the last year, have led to an examination of the state of the thermometer for the last twenty two years. The following tables exhibit the result. They were deduced from a regular course of observations made by the late President Webber, from January 1790, to June 1807, and continued from that time to the present by Professor Farrar. The observations from the commencement to August 1795 were made with a mercurial thermometer attached to Reaumur's scale placed about four feet from the ground, under cover, but exposed to a free air, and sufficiently protected from any undue reflection of heat, as well as from the direct rays of the sun. From August 1795, to July 1803, Fahrenheit's thermometer, made by Champney, was used, placed abroad in the open air, about eleven feet from the ground. From July 1803, to the present time, a standard thermometer made by Jones was employed, and in the situation last mentioned. The observations with Reaumur's thermometer are reduced to Fahrenheit's scale, for the purpose of a more ready comparison. The first table gives the greatest and the least elevation of the mercury at three different hours of the day, viz. at seven o'clock A. M. at two, P. M. and at nine in the evening, for the several seasons during the above period of twenty two years. The three first columns on the right give the extremes for the year, and the whole range of the thermometer. The second table exhibits the means for the several seasons of all the observations taken at the hours above mentioned. The first of the five last columns on the right represents the mean of all the winter observations, the second the mean of all the spring observations, the third the mean of all the summer observations, the fourth the mean of all the autumn observations, and the last the mean for the year. The footings of these columns being the means of all the means before found, may be considered as a determination of the temperature of

the seasons in this climate, with which, upon comparing the observations of any particular year or season past or to come, it may be seen whether it be colder or warmer, and how much. thus it is found that the last winter was at a mean about two degrees, and the last spring about four degrees colder than common. It appears also that the thermometer rose higher the last summer than it has done before for twenty two years past. On the fourth of July at two o'clock, P. M. it stood at 101° . On the fifth, it was stationary at 100° for a considerable part of the afternoon, the highest point it reached was $100\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. It stood at 99° at six P. M. On the twentieth of August it rose to 97° and remained at 91° at midnight. On the twenty first it rose to 95° by eleven o'clock A. M. and would probably have risen to 102° or 104° by two or three A. M. judging from the usual variation in that interval, had not the wind shifted to the eastward. A thermometer in the sun rose to 123° . Several thermometers were placed on the north side of buildings and in other situations, that were thought to give the fairest specimen of the temperature of the air. They all agreed very nearly with the thermometer stately used in the situation where the observations are regularly made. The bulb of this thermometer when standing at 100° in the shade was embraced by the hand and put into the mouth, upon which it sunk 2° . On being exposed to the open air it soon rose again to 100° after the moisture had evaporated. In an atmosphere thus heated a person might literally keep out the heat by thick warm clothing.

The last winter was no less remarkable for the opposite extreme of weather. Short intervals of more intense cold are not very unfrequent as may be seen by Table I. But such a degree of cold for so many days in succession is not to be found in any records of the thermometer in this place to which the writer has access. From the sixteenth to the twenty-second of January the mean state of the thermometer was about 13° above zero. The coldest of these days was the eighteenth, when the thermometer stood at 6° , 2° , and $9\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, at the stated hours of observation, below zero, giving at a mean nearly 6°

